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Orderly book of Sir John Johnson during



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F. Bartolotti RA

*Johnson,
Colonel of Indians.*

John Johnson

BRIG.-GEN. SIR JOHN JOHNSON, BART.

ORDERLY BOOK
OF
SIR JOHN JOHNSON
DURING THE
ORISKANY CAMPAIGN, 1776-1777

ANNOTATED BY
WILLIAM L. STONE

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.; BURGoyNE'S
CAMPAIGN; LIFE AND JOURNALS OF GENERAL AND MRS. RIEDESEL, &c.

WITH AN
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

ILLUSTRATING
THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN JOHNSON, BART.;

BY
J^{ES} WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL.D., M.A.

★ ANCHOR ★

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF [SWEDISH FIELD-MARSHAL] LEONARD TORSTENSON
[GENERALISSIMO], 1855; CARAUSUIS, 1858; WINTER CAMPAIGNS, &c.,
1864; THE PERSONAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF MAJ. GEN.
PHIL. KEARNY, 1869; LA ROYALE, THE GRAND HUNT OF THE
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, 3D-7TH APRIL, 1872-4; MARY,
QUEEN OF SCOTS, 1882; &c., &c.

AND
SOME TRACINGS FROM THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE
TORIES OR LOYALISTS IN AMERICA

CONTRIBUTED BY
THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS.

ALBANY
JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS.

M DCCC LXXXII.



TO THE

Hon. John W. Starin,

WHOSE GRANDMOTHER, JANE STARIN, SUFFERED FOR HER
PATRIOTISM DURING THE ST. LEGER CAMPAIGN:

AND TO

William S. Mersereau,

A FRIEND FROM BOYHOOD,

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY THE ANNOTATOR.





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**The Life and Misfortunes
of
Sir John Johnson**



Fredric de Byster



WITH
RESPECT AND AFFECTION
THIS LABOR IS
DEDICATED
TO
MY LATE VENERABLE FATHER,
Frederic de Peyster, LL. D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW YORK
SOCIETY LIBRARY, ST. NICHOLAS CLUB, AND FORMERLY OF
THE ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY,
&c., &c., &c.

With a grateful remembrance of the assiduity with which, at an
early age, the father inspired the son with literary tastes
and introduced him to the study of history, thus
furnishing to him an inestimable resource
in trouble and a sure solace amid
many sorrows.





P R E F A C E .

"Fidelity, that neither bribe nor threat
Can move or warp, and gratitude for small
And trivial favours, lasting as the life."
COWPER, "*Task*."

There is perhaps no truer proverb than that which declares that "whoever excuses himself accuses himself." There are exceptions, however, to this as well as to every other rule—although, even in the case of this little work, there would have been no necessity of explanation had circumstances—as conceited mortality vainly imagines—been in reality under human control. Man, let him delude himself as he will, is anything but a free agent. As Canon Charles Kingsley makes one of his characters sing, in "The Saint's Tragedy,"

'Tis Dame Circumstance licks Nature's cubs into shape :
Then why puzzle and fret, plot and dream ?
He that's wise will just follow his nose,
Contentedly fish, while he swims with the stream ;
'TIS NO BUSINESS OF HIS WHERE HE GOES."

*"All around is forethought sure,
FIXED WILL and stern decree.
Can the sailor move the main ?
Will the potter heed the clay ?
Mortal ! where the spirit drives,
Thither must the wheels obey.*

“Neither ask, nor fret, nor strive :
Where thy path is, thou shalt go.
 He who made the streams of time,
Wafts thee down to weal or woe !”

A variety of causes delayed the preparation of the historical treatise assigned to the writer, as an Introduction to Wm. L. Stone's “Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson, 1776-7.” Among these impediments was the expectation of receiving new facts from Europe. While thus delaying, Nature stepped in and demonstrated that a long series of violations of her laws—one of them excessive mental labor—would terminate in the arrest of all work.

It was at first intended to furnish a complete and detailed narrative of the whole career of Sir John Johnson, Bart., without limitation as to the space required. Subsequently a definite number of pages was assigned. To condense without injury to clearness is not only a rare gift, but also a question of severe labor, of time, and of thought. One of the most celebrated of English writers, when asked to epitomize one of his diffusive works, in order to render it more accessible to general readers, remarked, “I have not time to condense.” It was also intended to present in this connection a reprint of a rare little work, entitled [“Adventures of a Lady [Mary (Watts) Johnson, wife of Sir John Johnson, Bart.] in the War of Independence in America.”] This little duodecimo work of 57 pp. has a very curious history, and is very valuable as a presentation of the traditions of the Johnson family in regard to the wrongs inflicted upon Lady Mary (Watts) Johnson, and the sufferings undergone by her in making her

escape from the whigs, patriots, or rebels, in her successful attempt to rejoin her husband, Sir John, within the royal lines at New York. It is the tradition of the victim, as opposed to the legends of the victimizers; it is the memorial of the persecuted, as a set-off to the stories of the persecutors; it is the production of a cultivated mind, in contrast to the recollections of many received as authorities, among whom are numbered the illiterate depending entirely upon the fallible functions of memory.

This story of Lady Johnson's "Adventures" was written by Miss Susan Griffiths Colpoys—daughter of Admiral Griffith Colpoys, of the British Navy—who married Colonel Christopher Johnson, B. A., sixth son of Sir John Johnson, Bart. She was, consequently, sister-in-law of Adam Gordon Johnson, third Baronet, son of Sir John, and aunt of Sir William G. Johnson, the present and fourth Baronet, the grandson of Sir John Johnson, the second Baronet. The publication referred to was received, and the main particulars in regard thereto were derived from Sir William G. Consequently, also, Mrs. Col. Johnson had every opportunity of hearing all the incidents from those most interested in the occurrences and cognizant of the sad facts of the case.

It was the youngest daughter of this Mrs. Col. Christopher Johnson who married Mr. Henry Curwen, who inherited the ancestral abode of the Curwens, the historic estate of "Workington Hall," noted as having been the temporary residence or place of detention of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1568, when she fled from Scotland after her

defeat at Langside, 15th of June of that year. Among the heirlooms of this family, a portrait of Mary is preserved, which is said to have been presented by the queen herself to Sir (Knight, not Baronet) Henry Curwen, then master or owner of Workington Hall.

In an address delivered by the writer before the New York Historical Society, on Tuesday evening, 6th January, 1880, the case of Sir John Johnson was treated with great care, and to this was annexed two voluminous appendices, presenting at length quotations from original authorities which explained and bore out the views expressed in the paper itself. These supplements likewise embraced accounts of the principal actions in which Sir John was second or chief in command. Even to cite in this introduction the full titles of all the works examined would occupy more space than could possibly be conceded to such a list, and the reader must be content with the pertinent remark of a well-known writer (James Freeman Clarke) who says, in his introduction to the "Legend of Thomas Didymus," "I present no list of the authorities from which my facts are derived, but will merely say that the result of much study may be sometimes contained in the form given to a single sentence." To friends who have interested themselves no thanks are sufficient for their assistance in thought, word and deed. To Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, R. I., the diligent investigator and digester of the facts and fancies, the narratives and traditions of the past; to Col. T. Bailey Myers, of New York city, the true friend, the generous and genial

collector and collator; to Mr. Wm. L. Stone, the painstaking and indefatigable historian, to Wm. C. Bryant, Esq., of Buffalo, N. Y., the disinterested champion of the wronged and misrepresented; to Mr. Henry A. Homes, of the N. Y. State Library, for much trouble and courtesy,—to these and to others in lesser degree, but with great kindness, the warmest gratitude is felt and acknowledged.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

"ROSE HILL,"

Tivoli P. O., Dutchess Co., N. Y.

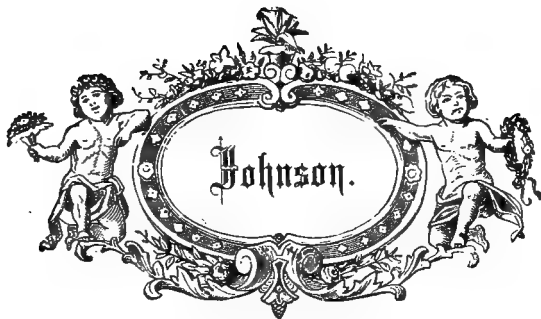
4th July, 1882.

NOTE.—There are few individuals in the United States who have the prerogative of expressing an opinion on the causes and course of the American Revolution superior to that of the writer. Lincoln, in his speech of speeches, at the consecration of the Soldiers' Cemetery at Gettysburg,—an utterance declared by English critics to be second only to Scriptural simplicity and sublimity—said that the brave men living and dead who struggled here—that is on the battlefield—"have consecrated it far above our power to add or to detract;" "that they gave the last full measure of devotion" to the cause that they espoused. The writer's ancestors and relatives "gave the last full measure of devotion" to the cause that they deemed right, and that they espoused. They were among the most wealthy and the most influential in the province of New York. A great great-uncle, Stephen de Lancey, was one of the most accomplished Executives who ever administered public affairs. His brother was a Brigadier-General, and common relatives held commissions in the British service, from general down to cornet. A great uncle, James de Lancey, was Colonel of Light Horsemen, comprising "the Elite of the Colony." His daring enterprises won for him the title of "the Outlaw of the Bronx," and "the terror of the region," "the debatable ground," of Westchester County. A near kinsman and namesake was Major of the 8th or King's Regiment of Foot. He was among the earliest officers to visit Lake George; he built the first frame building at Niagara Falls; won the affections of whites and redskins on the far lakes; left a work, styled "Miscellanies," which is a mine of facts for historians; rose to be colonel of his regiment, and of another, the "Dumfries Gentlemen Volunteers," raised to resist French invasion; is commemorated in the dedication of the "Poem on Life," by a famous pri-

vate in his corps, the poet Burns; died full of years and honors, and was buried with rites only equalled on one other occasion, in the graveyard of St. Michael's Church, lamented and revered by all who knew him. Both grandfathers held royal commissions, the first as the last royal Recorder of the city of New York, and the other as a captain, from 17 to 25, and was severely wounded, but recovered. Three great-uncles by blood were shot on the battlefield: one killed; another desperately wounded, losing a leg; a third by almost a miracle escaping the effects of a rifle-shot. Another great-uncle by marriage, afterwards Earl of Cassilis, was a captain in the British navy; a second was Sir John Johnson; a third (James) was major, afterwards colonel of the British artillery, threatened by the mob with burial alive, and, escaping their rage, lost literary treasures, the accumulation of a lifetime and the rest of his accessible property. The writer's great-grandfather, President of the King's Council, who, if the crown had succeeded, was to have been the Lieutenant-Governor and acting Governor of the Province—in place of his father-in-law, the distinguished Colden—who had maintained the rights of the people against military assumption, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the mob, left the country, was attainted, had his wealth confiscated a year subsequently to his departure, died an exile, straightened in means, and laid his bones in a foreign grave. His noble wife died of a broken heart. This list of martyrs might be greatly augmented.

The same Loyalty which sent these men to the front during the Revolution, actuated their descendants during the war of 1812-15. The writer's father and four uncles, beside other relatives who were of sufficient age, were all in arms for the United States. One cousin, afterwards a major-general, the conqueror of New Mexico and of California, died in consequence of the aggravation of political rancor, nay, persecution.

A kindred loyalty to the government sent every available relative into the field during the Slaveholders' Rebellion, and cost the lives of five out of six of those nearest and dearest. Loyalty, when it pays "the last full measure of devotion," has a right to make itself heard; Loyalty which shuns no danger and fears no consequence, is a better interpreter of Duty than mere passion incited by prospective advantages. To risk the loss of all is a better proof of honesty than the chance of winning something in a desperate game. And it is not only injustice, but spite that would endeavor to attribute unworthy motives to devotion such as was testified by those who threw life, property and all that men hold dear into the scale, and lost all from motives of Loyalty to Authority and Fidelity to the Flag.



THE JOHNSON FAMILY

OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY.*

“Boldness Wins.”

(Original motto of Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Bart.)

“I cannot see,” observes a gentleman (of New York Whig antecedents and ancestry), at once an historical scholar, a practical soldier and an accomplished man of business, “how a man so formed and trusted in himself and his family [as Sir John Johnson] could have acted differently than he did.”

In many respects the two greatest men who administered the affairs of the colony or province, or, even since, of the State of New York, were Lieutenant-Governor,

* The following genealogy of the Johnson family is compiled from various sources: from memoranda furnished by the present Baronet, Sir William George Johnson, from Burke’s “Peerage and Baronetage of Great Britain, from Sabine’s “Loyalists of the American Revolution,” from Wm. L. Stone’s “Life of Sir William Johnson, Bart.,” &c., &c.

acting Governor, James de Lancey, and Sir William Johnson, Bart., the "Indian Tamer"—the Conqueror at Lake George in 1755, and the Capturer of Niagara in 1759. If space permitted, it would be a very interesting and agreeable task or duty to clear up some historic doubts in regard to the first Sir William and introduce illustrations of his ability which have never been presented to the American public.

It is marvellous what ridiculous nonsense has been published in regard to the antecedents and adventures of this remarkable man. The following is the literal truth, furnished from a most authentic source:

"The Hon. Sir William Johnson, Bart., in America, was the son of Christopher Johnson, Esq., of Smith-Town, County Meath (Ireland), a gentleman of great repute and renown, descended from a distinguished Irish family,* and of Anne Warren, daughter of Michael Warren, Esq., of the same county, and sister of Sir Peter

* It has been bruited that originally the family name was not Johnson, but Jansen, and that the first who bore it and settled in Ireland was a Hollander, who, like many of his countrymen, went over afterwards with William III. in 1690, won lands and established themselves. If this report had a grain of truth in it, that the name should become anglicised immediately would be nothing remarkable, since hundreds of similar and of far greater transmutations and travesties, some amounting to simple absolute translations, occurred in this State within a generation after its settlement: the Feuersteins becoming Flints, the Muhlers Millers, &c., &c. This Jansen story, however, is a myth, like many of the stupidities which are engendered by ignorance or started through envy or other like meannesses in illiterate neighborhoods. Col. Guy Johnson, nephew of Sir William, always retained a touch of the brogue. "His tongue bore evidence of his Irish extraction" (Captain Snyder, in Stone's "Brant," II. 67.

Warren, Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Bath, Vice-Admiral in the British Navy under George II. (and well-known for his exploits—among these his co-operation with Sir William Pepperell in the famous expedition against Louisburg, the French Gibraltar in America, in 1745), and niece of Admiral Lord Aylmer, of Balrath, County Meath, Ireland.

“The above Christopher Johnson was son of William Johnson, then called MacSean or MacShane, a general of very great repute and credit in that part of Ireland (county Meath, whose principal river is the Boyne, famous for the victory of William III. over James II., 1st July, 1690), and of Anne Fitzsimmons, of Tallynally, county of Westmeath. William MacSean was the son of Thomas MacSean and Frances Fay, of the very ancient family of Derrinaganale, county Westmeath. This Thomas MacSean was son of John (O’Neil), from whom the MacSeans of that family were called, and was descended from the Royal (Irish) family of Dungannon, County Tyrone, formerly princes of Ulster and monarchs of Ireland, “antecedent to Christianity” and “before the coming of St. Patricke.” The family of Warren (here referred to), of Warrentown, is the head and stock of several illustrious families of that name in Ireland, and the founder was one of the principal followers of Earl Strongbow when he conquered Ireland, 1169-70. This family of Warren is descended in a direct legal line from the Marquises of Warrene, in Normandy, France..

According to Sir William George Johnson, Bart., there

is an exceptional honor attached to the patent of nobility conferred upon the first Sir William and his son, Sir John, which is almost unprecedented in British history. The patent which perpetuates the baronetcy in this family contains a clause which gives the title of "Knight" or "Sir" to the eldest son on his attaining his majority, an extraordinary clause, as knighthood as a rule is not hereditary, but is conferred for special services and terminates with the life of the recipient.

I. WILLIAM JOHNSON, Esq. (afterwards Knight and Baronet), was born at Smith Town, County Meath, Ireland, and subsequently adopted by his maternal uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, K. B., capturer of Louisburg, &c., and went out with him to North America, where he rose to the rank of Colonel in the British Army, Major-General of the Provincial Forces and (or) of the Militia, 16th April, 1783, and distinguished himself as a military commander during the French (American) War (1754-63), and as a negotiator with Indian tribes. He was created a Baronet 27th Nov., 1755. In 1756 he received his commission as "*Colonel, Agent and Sole Superintendent of all the affairs of the Six Nations and other Northern Indians,*" "with no subordination but to Loudon (London?)." He died 11th July, 1774, of chronic malignant dysentery, aged 59, at his seat, Johnson Hall, Tryon County, New York, leaving by Catherine Wisenberg [Weissenberg?], his wife:

- i. JOHN, his heir.
- ii. ANNE, married to Col. DANIEL CLAUSS, of North America, and died about 1798.
- iii. MARY, married to Col. GUY JOHNSON, and had two daughters: 1. Mary, wife of Field Marshal Lord Clyde, queller of the East India Mutiny, originally Sir Colin Campbell, and mother of Gen. Sir Guy Campbell; 2. Julia.

The son and heir of Sir William Johnson, Bart.:

II. SIR JOHN, of Johnson Hall,* Tryon (afterwards Fulton) County, N. Y., finally of Mount Johnson, Montreal: Colonel of Regiment of Horse in the Northern District of New York, in 1773; Major-General of the Militia belonging to the same portion of the Province after the decease of his father; Lieut.-Col. commanding the Loyal or Provincial "King's Royal Regiment of New York," otherwise "The Queen's Loyal New Yorkers;" or "Johnson's or Queen's Royal Greens;" Colonel, B. A., 21st October, 1782; Brigadier-General of the Provincial Troops, &c., 14th March, 1782; Superintendent-General and Inspector-

* To furnish some idea of the condition of insecurity in which the Johnson family lived, and the state of preparation maintained at the Hall—the family home—a semi-fortification, the following order, copied from the original by Col. T. Bailey Myers, is inserted entire.

It was by a father who was so careful in his instruction, who was so capable in the handling of men, so conscientious in his labors, administrative, executive and military, and so fortunate in his enterprises, Sir John Johnson was brought up and prepared for the arduous career which absorbed the best portion of his active life.

"1st. You will keep your Party sober and in good order and prevent their having any unnecessary Intercourse with the Indians least any difference might arise between them from too much familiarity.

2d. If any difference should arise between them, if the Indians use any of your party ill, I am to be immediately acquainted with it.

4th. You will in the day time keep one Sentry on the Eminence to the Northward of the House, who upon seeing the enemy advance is to fire his piece and retreat to the Fort. Another Sentry to be posted at the Gate of the Fort on the outside, who is also to enter the Fort on the advanced Sentry alarming him.

3d. The Sergeant to take care that the Men's Quarters be kept very Clean and that they wash well and freshen their Salt Provisions, the neglect of which makes them subject to many Disorders.

7th. In case of an attack the 2 Bastions to be properly manned and the 2 curtains also, there mixing some of my People with yours. The remainder of my People to man the Dwelling House and fight from thence, making Use of the Four Wall Pieces and Musquetoons and of the windows fitted for them.

General of the Six Nations of Indians and their Confederates, of all the Indians inhabiting Our province of Quebec and the Frontier, 16th September, 1791 (a copy of Sir John's commission is appended as a note);* Colonel-in-Chief of the six Battalions of the Militia of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. He was Knighted at St. James', London, 22d Nov.,

6th. Whenever an alarm is given by the advanced Sentry, you will order three Patteroes [or Peaeroes, a very small kind of cannon] immediately to be fired, that being the signal I have given to the Mohawks, and on their approach near the Fort, when challenged, they are to answer "George" as distinct as they can, then to be admitted if practicable.

5th. When there are no Indians here the Gates to be locked at 8 o'clock in y^e Evening and opened at Six in the Morning, first looking around about to see that all is safe and clear, the advanced Sentry then to be posted Every Day.

The men's arms and ammunition to be kept in Good Order.

To	FORT JOHNSON,	I am, Sir,
Lieut.	August the 9th, 1756.	Yrs.,
ALEXANDER TURN BULL.		WM. JOHNSON.

NOTE.—On the 10th of August the Marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Baron Dieskau in command of French army, invested Oswego. On the 13th Cause of this the garrison, Shirley and Pepperell's regiments, 1600 men, evacuated absence. and retreated to the old fort across the river, and surrendered on 13th, and both forts levelled. Johnson was at Albany on the 20th when the news arrived, and was sent by Ld. Loudon with two battalions of militia to German Flats to support Gen. Webb, who had started from Albany for the relief of the garrison two days before the surrender, but, on receiving intelligence of it, retreated with precipitancy to German Flats, which ended Loudon's campaign and disappointed and incensed the Six Nations, who looked for his protection, and gave Sir William much trouble; the Mohawks only remaining reliable, the others for a time negotiating for peace with the French.

* GEN'L J. W. DE PEYSTER, BUFFALO, March 30, 1882.

DEAR SIR:—I enclose copy of Sir John Johnson's commission as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. The original is bound up in a collection of autographs and documents in my possession, and could not be detached without mutilation.

Possibly this may be of some slight service to you.

Very respectfully yours, WM. C. BRYANT.

[To whom the Johnson family owe a heavy debt of gratitude for

1765. (On the death of his father, Sir William (I.), Sir John positively refused to accept the succession to the former's dignities and offices in connection with the Indians, and they were conferred upon his cousin, Guy Johnson, who exercised them throughout the Revolutionary War, and thus Sir John and Col. Guy have often been confounded, to the disadvantage of Sir John. Sabine says, "Col. Guy Johnson's intemperate zeal for his royal master caused the first affray in that [Tryon] county.") Sir John married, 30th June, 1773, MARY, daughter of Hon. JOHN WATTS, Senior, Esq., some time President of the King's Council of New York, and by her (who died 7th August, 1815) he had issue :

- 1. I. WILLIAM, Lieut-Col., born 1775 ; married in 1802, SUSAN—
an extraordinary beauty—daughter of Stephen de Lan-

his noble defence of Sir John Johnson, and the writer abundant thanks for information, rendered doubly valuable by the courtesies attending its transmission.

J. W. DE P.]

GEORGE R.

[GREAT SEAL.]

George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Johnson, Bart., Greeting : We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Fidelity and Ability do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Superintendent General and Inspector General of our Faithful Subjects and Allies, the Six United Nations of Indians and their Confederates, and of their Affairs, and also of our faithful Allies the Indians inhabiting Our Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, in America, and the frontiers of our said Provinces, and of their affairs : And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall receive from Our Commander in Chief of Our Forces in Our said Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, or, in case of his absence, from the Officer who may be left in the Command of the said Forces for the Time being.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Sixteenth day of September, 1791, In the Thirty First Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

HENRY DUNDAS.

cey, Governor of Tobago, and sister of Sir William de Lancey, K. C. B., "Quartermaster-General of Wellington's army," killed at Waterloo; and died 1812, leaving by her (who married secondly, 1815, General Sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B., and died 1832) three daughters:

1. Charlotte, married in 1820, Alexander Count Balmain, Russian Commissioner at St. Helena, and died in 1824.
2. Mary, died unmarried in 1814.
3. Susan, died unmarried in 1828.

II. ADAM GORDON, III^d Baronet.

III. JAMES STEPHEN, Captain 28th Regiment, killed at Badajoz, born in 1785.

IV. ROBERT THOMAS, drowned in Canada in 1812.

V. WARREN, Major 68th Regiment, died 1813.

VI. JOHN, of Point Oliver, Montreal, Col. Com'g 6th Battalion of Militia, born 8th August; 1782, married 10th February, 1825, Mary Diana, daughter of Richard Dillon, Esq., of Montreal, and died 23d June, 1841, leaving issue:

1. WILLIAM GEORGE, successor to his uncle, and present (in 1882) Baronet.
2. CHARLES, Captain Madras Artillery, born 4th February, 1833.
3. JAMES STEPHEN, Lieut. 14th Foot, born 5th March, 1836; killed at Barbadoes.
4. ARCHIBALD KENNEDY, born 20th June, 1839.
1. MARIA DIANA.
2. ANNE MARGARET.
3. ELIZA THERESA.
4. MARY ANNE.

VII. CHARLES CHRISTOPHER, of Argenteuil, Canada East, born 29th October, 1798: Lieut.-Col. in the Army; Knight of the second class of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun; married 1818, Susan, eldest daughter

of Admiral Sir Edward Griffiths, of Northbrook House, Hants (Hampshire) (who took the surname of Colpoys), and died 30th September, 1854, leaving:

1. WILLIAM, an officer in 20th Regiment, born 28th May, 1821, deceased.
2. JOHN ORMSBY, Captain Royal Navy; born 11th August, 1822.
3. CHARLES TURQUAND, born 17th June, 1825, deceased.
4. EDWARD COLPOYS, born 11th August, 1855, an officer in the Army.
1. MARIA BOWES, married, 18th June, 1867, Rev. Wm. Bell Christian, of Ewanrigg Hall, Cumberland, and Milntown, Isle of Man.
2. MARY ANNE SUSAN.

VIII. ARCHIBALD KENNEDY, born in 1792, married, 13th September, 1818, Maria Johnson, daughter of Patrick Langan, Esq., of Montreal, died 8th October, 1866.

1. ANNE, married to Col. Edward Macdonnell, Deputy Quartermaster General to the Forces in Canada, who died in 1812.
2. CATHARINE MARIA, one of the loveliest, wisest and best of women, married in 1805 to Major-General BARNARD FOORD BOWES, an officer of unusual ability and intrepidity, who fell in the attack upon the forts at Salamanca, 23d June, 1812. (See Harper's "Alison," III., 476 (2) and note †, and other authorities on the War in Spain). She died at Anglesey, near Gosport, England, in 1850.

3. MARIANNE, died 1st January, 1868.

SIR JOHN, died 4th January, 1830, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

III. SIR ADAM GORDON, Lieut.-Col. of the 6th Battalion of Militia, born 6th May, 1781; who died unmarried 21st May,

1843, and was succeeded by his nephew, WILLIAM GEORGE, the present (1882) Baronet.

IV. SIR WILLIAM GEORGE JOHNSON, of Twickenham, County of Middlesex, England, was graduated at Woolwich, and for the best portion of his life held a commission in the British Army as Captain of Artillery, and acted, in the discharge of various staff duties, at different posts, and once upon the Island of St. Helena; born 19th December, 1830; succeeded as IV. Baronet at the decease of his uncle, in May, 1843.

ARMS.—Argent, two lions counter-rampant, supporting a dexter hand gules; in chief, three estoilles of the last, and in bas, a salmon naiant in water, proper.

CREST.—An arm, gules, encircled with a ducal crown, *Or*, the hand grasping a sword, proper, poinard and hilt, *Or*.

MOTTO.—“*Nec aspera terrent.*” “*Difficulties do not stop (or deter) or dismay.*” “BOLDNESS WINS.”

Sir John Johnson, might have exclaimed, in the words of Dryden:

“Fortune came smiling to my youth, and woo’d it,
And purpl’d greatness met my ripen’d years,
When first I came to empire, I was borne,
On tides of people crowding to my triumph:
The wish of nations, and the willing world
Receiv’d me as its pledge of future peace.
I was so great, so happy, so belov’d,
Fate could not ruin me, ’til I took pains,
And work’d against my fortune; chid her from me,
And turn’d her loose, yet still she came again.
My careless days, and my luxurious nights,
At length have wearied her; and now she’s gone.

* * * * *

Oh! I am now so sunk from what I was,
Thou find’st me at my low-water mark:
The rivers that ran in, and rais’d my fortunes,
Are all dried up, or take another course.
What I have left is from my native spring;
I’ve still a heart that swells in scorn of fate.”



HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

"Our knowledge of the future [1861-5], can only be a copy of the past [1775-83]."

TH. RIBOT'S "*Diseases of Memory*."

Cæsar.—"You must obey what all obey, the rule
Of fix'd necessity : against her edict
Rebellion prospers not."

Arnold.—"And when it prospers—"

Cæsar.—" 'Tis no rebellion."

* * * *

Philibert.—"How now, fellow !
Thou waxest insolent, beyond the privilege
Of a buffoon."

Cæsar.—"You mean, I speak the truth.
I'll lie—it is as easy ; then you'll praise me
For calling you a hero."

BYRON'S "*Deformed Transformed*," Act I., Scene II.

Posselt, in his "*History of Gustavus III., of Sweden*," after mentioning that he has had a number of manuscripts communicated to him by a high and competent authority, says, "the author, although he fully agrees in opinion with the writer (of these manuscripts), will not communicate them to the public, because *the world will neither hear nor believe the simple truth, but wishes to be deceived*."

SCHLOSSER, "*History of the XIX. Century*," IV., 342.

"A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land ; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means ; and my people love to have it so : and what will ye do in the end thereof."

JEREMIAH V., 30, 31.

There was a greater and a finer display of Loyalty to the Government, that is, to the Union and to the Flag, in 1861, ten times over, than of patriotism or whatever it may be said to represent, to the cause of Liberty and Independence, that is to the Confederate Colonies, in

1775-6. In 1861 there was a universal popular fervor at the North, totally disinterested—an uprising of the people.* In 1775-6, as a national feeling, it was exactly the reverse. There were more native Americans in the course of the war in the British service than Washington ever had together, regulars and irregulars, under the highest pressure of voluntary and compulsory service.

Lorenzo Sabine demonstrates this, and the following letter is too pertinent and corroborative to be omitted. It is from the pen of a very able Federal general, and one of the most reflecting men of this generation, who is likewise a collateral relation of one of the most prominent Continental generals. In it the writer says :

“The more I read and understand the American Revolution, the more I wonder at our success.” I doubt if there were more than two States decidedly whig—Massachusetts and Virginia. Massachusetts (morally) overlapped New Hampshire—and the northern part of Rhode Island—and dragged them after her. [These seemed to realize the dependence of the Second Jager in Schiller’s “*Wallenstein’s Lager*,” or camp—

“Freedom must ever with might entwine,
I live and will die by *Wallenstein*.”]

The Massachusetts people were Aryan (by race), with a strong injection of Jewish (instincts). The population of Southern Rhode Island and Connecticut were divided—more loyal than

* There was more patriotism shown at the North, among all classes and conditions of men, during the first two years of the “Slaveholders’ Rebellion” than has ever been exhibited, spontaneously, by any people in the world—far more than during the American Revolution. The Loyalists of 1861-2 took up arms for their colors and country and for conscience—for principle ; so did the Loyalists of 1775-6.

Rebel. New York was Tory. New Jersey—eastern part followed New York, western part Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was Tory, Maryland was divided; North Carolina partly followed her, partly South Carolina. South Carolina had many Tories. Georgia followed South Carolina. Two parties constituted the strength of the Whigs—the Democratic Communists of Massachusetts and wherever their organization extended and the (Provincial) aristocracy of Virginia, which was loyal to the King but would not bend to the aristocratic Parliament. The Scotch (Protestant not Papist) Irish in New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina were Rebels to the backbone. The Dutch families in New York [not in authority], the Huguenots in South Carolina, likewise. The Church party, the Germans, the Catholic Irish and the Quakers were Loyalists. The Dissenters everywhere were Rebels.”

Without the active assistance of France and Spain, and the silent influence of other powers, jealous or envious or inimical to Great Britain, the achievement of American Independence would have been an impossibility. When the goal was reached how did the Confederated Colonies, transmuted into the United States, show their gratitude to France and Spain?

Again, there was more honesty, mercy, magnanimity, more charity or philanthropy manifested to the Rebels in 1865, than to their brethren, if they were so in fact, by the Colonial authorities in 1782-3. The Duke of Alva was scarcely more cruel for his race, day, prejudices and opportunities than the authorities of the State of New York, for their blood and their era. Not one sentence of this introduction is written to uphold Great Britain. Even accepting Lecky's depreciatory estimate of George III.

*

and his ministry, nothing can excuse the animus which permeates the enactments of New York against the Loyalists, stigmatized as Tories, who were certainly as honest and self-sacrificing in their convictions as their opponents.

The uprising of 1861 settled the interpretation or definition of Loyalty—Fealty to the Government and Fidelity to the Flag! If there was any man in the Colonies who was a decided enemy to the Crown it was John Adams, and yet he it was who declared, or rather wrote these remarkable words:

“For my own part there was not a moment during the Revolution when I would not have given anything I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have a sufficient security for its continuance.”

The idea thus expressed by John Adams with the pen, was nothing more than Sir John Johnson wrote in fiercer colors with the sword, at the sacrifice of such a magnificent property that John Adams would have regarded a portion of it as an elegant competency.

What have Native Americans gained by all that has been undergone? Would their leaders have taken the stand that they did, if they could have looked forward and foreseen the present condition of things? Is material prosperity the highest good? The wish has been attributed to Jefferson, the “Apostle of Democracy?” that an ocean of fire rolled between his country and the old world, to preserve it from the evils of emigration. Foreigners in a great measure engineered the American Revolution. How

many figured at the head of our armies? How many influenced the resolutions of Congress? Of twenty-eight active major-generals—there were thirty, but one resigned 23d April, 1776, and one was retired in 1778—eleven were foreigners, and four had learned their trades in the British service. Throwing out those who were promoted, of the fifty-five brigadiers, between 1775 and the close of the war in 1782, twelve were foreigners.

The two chief agents of independence were Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine. The first was an accidental American, just born in this country, and the latter an Englishman.

Individual rights are more respected and regarded to-day in Great Britain, and the law is held in more reverence there than in the United States. Here license dictates the laws and a respectable minority has to suffer and succumb. There is no law but public opinion, right or wrong, and the atrocious influence of political greed and grasping monopoly. Is that worse than a royal will, tempered by a constitutional representation?

The atmosphere breathed by so many of the prominent American families of New York was surcharged with Loyalty and Fidelity to a rightful Prince. Whether the idea was wise or foolish, right or wrong, nothing was considered as much a man's personal duty as the maintenance of his honor. The young and charming Lord James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, the idol of the Jacobites, was beheaded*

* "LORD DERWENTWATER'S LIGHTS.—There have been several wonderful and most unusual displays of aurora borealis in England

24th February, 1716; that is, on the very day, it is claimed by Col. T. Bailey Myers, that Sir William Johnson was born, and the wild fervor of Jacobite Loyalty was still alive when Sir John was a boy. The world was yet ringing with the thrilling, touching and trumpet-toned ballads which celebrated the virtues and sacrifices of those who dared and died for the Stuarts. With such examples before them, men who had been elevated and rewarded by the Crown would have been false to manhood if they had not stood by the source of honor whose streams had ennobled and enriched them.

Contrast LORD DERWENTWATER's famous "Good Night" with a similar poem, evoked by the exile and ruin of the Westchester de Lanceys. The same spirit manifests itself in both.

lately, seriously affecting, as they have done here, the telegraphic communication. In Northumberland, the aurora borealis is known among the peasantry by the name of Lord Derwentwater's Lights. In the attempt to place the Stuarts on the throne, the Earl of Derwentwater, head of the great Roman Catholic north country family of Radcliffe, took a conspicuous part, and paid the penalty on the scaffold. On the night of his execution there was a brilliant display of the aurora borealis, and the simple peasantry, by whom their lord, a man of high and amiable character, was greatly beloved, associated the phenomena with the death of the unfortunate young nobleman.

"There is also a legend, which yet lingers amidst the homesteads of the property which once was his, that the water in the moat of Dilstone Castle, the family seat, turned blood red on that same fatal night. This notion is likely to have arisen from the reflection of the sky [crimson with the aurora] in the water. The vast estates of the Radcliffes were confiscated to the endowment of Greenwich Hospital, and are now worth about £60,000 a year. A maniac, calling herself Countess of Derwentwater, has lately been claiming them." *Post*, Nov. 29, 1870.

"Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,
My father's ancient seat ;
A stranger now must call thee his,
 Which gars my heart to greet.
 Farewell each friendly well-known face,
 My heart has held so dear ;
My tenants now must leave their lands,
*Or hold their lives in fear.**

"No more along the banks of Tyne,
 I'll rove in autumn grey ;
 No more I'll hear at early dawn,
 The lav' rocks wake the day.
 Then fare thee well, brave Witherington,
 And Forster ever true ;
 Dear Shaftesbury and Errington,
 Receive my last adieu.

"And fare thee well, George Collingwood,
 Since fate has put us down,
 If thou and I have lost our lives,
 Our King has lost his crown.
 Farewell, farewell, my lady dear,
 Ill, ill thou counsell'dst me ;
I never more may see the babe
That smiles upon thy knee.†

"And fare thee well, my bonny grey steed,‡
 That carried me aye so free ;
 I wish I had been asleep in my bed,
 The last time I mounted thee.
 This warning bell now bids me cease,
 My trouble's nearly o'er ;

* True to the letter as regards the tenants and dependents of Sir John Johnson.

† Lady Johnson's child, born in captivity, died in consequence of the exposure attending her escape from the Whigs or Rebels, and Sir John only looked upon it to see it die.]

‡ Sir John Johnson had a famous (white or whitey-grey ?) charger, which was captured during the invasion of 1780. (See Simm's "Schoharie," 386.)

Yon Sun that rises from the sea,
Shall rise on me no more.

“Albeit that here in London town,
It is my fate to die ;
O carry me to Northumberland,
In my father's grave to lie !
Then chant my solemn requiem,
In Hexham's holy towers ;
And let six maids of fair Tynedale,
Scatter my grave with flowers.

“And when the head that wears the crown,
Shall be laid low like mine,
Some honest hearts may then lament,
For Radcliffe's fallen line.
Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,
My father's ancient seat ;
A stranger now must call thee his,
Which gars my heart to greet.”

The touching lines, just quoted, are echoes of similar heart-utterances of every nation which has a literature, and which has been torn by civil war. Several poems of exquisite pathos attest the deep feeling of the Huguenot exiles driven by bigotry from France and from the sunny homes they were never again to behold. Many years ago, among old family records, the writer found some verses in manuscript which embody the same sentiments as those which characterize “Lord Derwentwater's Good Night.” They refer to the desolation which fell upon the domain in Westchester County, N. Y., where his grandfather, Hon. John Watts, Jr., married, 2d October, 1775, the lovely Jane de Lancey—a couple so fitted for each other in every respect, that the festival was suitably commemorated in prose and poetry. The gentle Jane was the niece of

Lady Johnson, wife of Sir John, and the sister of the famous Colonel James de Lancey, who organized a Battalion of Loyal Light Horse. "This Troop [the nucleus] is truly 'Elite' of the country," is the record of the Royal Governor. Their commander, stigmatized by his opponents as the "Outlaw of the Bronx," became "the terror of the region" between the Harlem river and the Highlands. He was fearless and indefatigable, and, on one occasion, came near "gobbling" Washington. So formidable did he prove, that Washington's "first offensive design"—after his junction with Lauzun's Legion and the advanced corps of Rochambeau—was an attempt to destroy de Lancey's Legion. This, like that of Lauzun, Pulaski, Armand and "Light Horse Harry" Lee, comprised both Horse and Foot. The enterprise was undertaken on the night of 1st July, 1781. It failed completely.

When the success of the Americans was decided, Colonel James de Lancey, the hero of so much sterling fact and romantic fiction, went forth an exile—a sad fate for so brave and conscientious a soldier, although he was rewarded by the bounty and confidence of the King for whom he had lost all. He was a nephew of Sir John Johnson. When about to leave forever his ancestral home, the "'Outlaw of the Bronx' mounted his horse, and, riding to the dwellings of his neighbors [early associates and constant friends through life] bid them each farewell. His paternal fields and every object presented to his view were associated with the joyful recollections of early life. The consciousness that he beheld them all for the last time, and

the uncertainties to be encountered in the strange country to which banishment was consigning him, conspired to awaken emotions such as the sternest bosom is sometimes compelled to entertain. It was in vain that he struggled to suppress feelings which shook his iron heart. Nature soon obtained the mastery, and he burst into tears. After weeping with uncontrollable bitterness for a few moments, he shook his ancient friend by the hand, ejaculating with difficulty the words of benediction—"God bless you, Theophilus [Bailey]!" and spurring forward, turned his back forever upon his native valley"—the home of the writer's great-grandparents on the mother's side.

The following feeling lines were written by a stranger, an Englishman, who visited the old de Lancey manor, in Westchester County, N. Y., expecting to find there, still existing, some memorials of that gallant, courtly and eminent race which once directed the development of the colony and province. But, alas, in the same manner that war, exile, confiscation and death had smitten and scattered the proud owners, even so had flood, fire and change laid waste or altered their ornate possessions. *A solitary pine*, towering aloft in natural majesty, alone survived to mark the spot where once a flourishing loyal race extended its stately hospitalities, and enjoyed the sweets of a home, the abode of prosperity and the shelter of extraordinary hereditary capacity. A contrast so marked between the past and the present moved even the alien, and in poetic numbers he testified his sympathy and recorded the desolation :

“Where gentle Bronx clear winding flows
His shadowing banks between ;
Where blossom'd bell and wilding rose
Adorn the brightest green ;
Memorials of the fallen great,
The rich and honor'd line,
Stands high in solitary state,
De Lancey's ancient pine.

“There, once at early dawn array'd,
The rural sports to lead,
The gallant master of the glade
Bestrode his eager steed ;
And once the light-foot maiden came,
In loveliness divine,
To sculpture with the dearest name,
De Lancey's ancient pine.

“And now the stranger's foot explores
De Lancey's wide domain,
And scarce one kindred heart restores
His memory to the plain ;
And just like one in age alone,
The last of all his line
Bends sadly where the waters moan—
De Lancey's ancient pine.

“Oh greatness ! o'er thy final fall,
The feeling heart should mourn.
Nor from *de Lancey's* ancient Hall
With cold rejoicing turn :
No ! no ! the satiate stranger stays
When eve's calm glories shine,
To weep—as tells of other days
De Lancey's ancient pine.”





THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

"At the conclusion of a long war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expense of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise like exhalations." *

DR. JOHNSON.

"Thus perished the party of the Gironde; reckless in its measures, culpable for its rashness, but illustrious from its talents, glorious in its fall. It embraced all the men who were philanthropists from feeling, or Republicans from principle; the brave, the humane, the benevolent. But with them were also combined within its ranks numbers of a baser kind; many who employed their genius for the advancement of their ambition, and were careless of their country provided they elevated their party. It was overthrown by a faction of coarser materials, but more determined character, * * * Adorned by the most splendid talents, supported by the most powerful eloquence, actuated at times by the most generous intentions, it perished * * * Such ever has, and ever will be, the result of revolutionary convulsions in society when not steadily opposed in the outset by a firm union of the higher classes of the community; in the collision of opposite factions the virtuous and the moderate will too often be overcome by the reckless and the daring. Prudence clogs their enterprise; virtue checks their ambition; humanity paralyzes their exertions. They fall because they recoil from the violence which becomes, in disastrous times, essential to command success in revolutions."

ALISON'S *"History of Europe,"* II., ix., 214, 2.

Fortunately for the colonies, Carleton was not in favor with the British authorities at home, and Burgoyne, substituted in 1777, had neither the wisdom nor the generosity to develop an element of strength which Carleton had found so efficacious and trustworthy. Clinton, in this regard,

* This sentence was adopted as the motto of a somewhat scarce "History of the First Ten Years of George III.," London, 1788, written by (Robert ?) Macfarlane, who kept an academy at Walthamstow, in Essex County, England, seven miles N.N.E. of London.

imitated Burgoyne. The German, Knyphausen, strange to say, was the first to perceive the truth and organize a military organization of the Loyalists that could be relied on upon every occasion. He raised, in 1779-80, six thousand good troops among the citizens of New York, which made this city—the grand base of the British forces—secure. A course similar to that of Carleton, after the capture of Savannah by Campbell, in December, 1778, enabled Prevost to convert Georgia almost entirely from rebellion to loyalty. Clinton, in 1777, was as unwise on the Lower Hudson as Burgoyne had been on the Upper. Cornwallis had all the sense of Carleton without his astuteness. His advice to the Loyalists of the Carolinas was admirable. He counselled them not to take up arms and embody until he was near enough at hand to protect and support them; until they had gathered strength to stand and go alone. His policy in this regard would have worked wonders, had it not been for the intervention of a new element, which had not entered into the calculations of any of the Royal commanders. This was the appearance upon the scene of the mountaineers of the Alleghanies, who were aroused to action by the fugitives from the districts occupied by the temporary victors. Cornwallis, although severe, was just; and it is somewhat remarkable that it was not until 1866 that a little book appeared, entitled “The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina,” in which justice is done to the previously misrepresented Marquis. Cornwallis did hang a number; but American historians are very careful not to state that those hanged were taken “red

hand," "with American arms in their hands and with British protections in their pockets." It was only through the generosity of Cornwallis that the Loyalists with him in Yorktown were enabled to get off with safety when the place was taken.

The whole of this matter is misunderstood, and has never been clearly placed before the people.

Too many of the influential Loyalists acted in 1775-6 like the French nobility in 1790-2. Louis de Lomenie, in his "*Comtesse de Rochefort et ses Amis*" (p. 297), has some remarks on this subject which are pertinent.

"To explain so prompt a downfall of the French aristocracy of the eighteenth century, writers have often urged the irresistible impetuosity of the Democratic movement. We do not deny this impetuosity, but it is nevertheless necessary to recognize that if this aristocracy, in place of being a mere shadow of what it should have been, had retained the vigor of an effective *patriate* (higher or better class) and a living body, it would not without utility, perhaps, for the cause of liberty, have tempered the revolutionary movement, or, at least, have opposed to it a stronger resistance than it did. It was broken at the first shock, because this formerly flourishing branch of the great national tree"

was not true to itself. Lomenie goes on to give other reasons which were peculiar to France, whereas in America, although the causes were apparently different, they were at bottom the same, viz.: the better classes had "given hostages to fortune," and this, according to the proverbs of all time, unnerves men until it is too late.

It is inconceivable how the Loyalist strength in the colonies was misapplied, frittered away or wasted. The re-

sult only shows that in all revolutions the Middle or Neutral—generally styled the Conservative—party only embarrass the Ultras on one side in support of the government, and aid the Radicals, on the other side, by attempting to arrest or mediate ; thus affording time for the organization of the latter, which converts rebellion into revolution.

In all political crises or cataclysms, a *renaissance* through blood, the best, the conservative class, the champions of right, pure and simple, furnish the first and the bulk of the victims. Thus it was in America. The daring and reckless with comparatively little to lose, with grand exceptions, it is true, fell upon the intellectual and wealthy, who adhered to the government under which they had thriven. The myrmidons of the Crown—selfish, indolent, self-satisfied professionals—were as cruel in their inaction as the leaders of faction were merciless in their exactions. The persecution of the Tories was determined with cold-blooded calculation, since the Saxon can not plead in excuse the excitability of the Celtic or Latin races ; what he does he does advisedly. Nor was the desertion of the Loyalists at the Peace of Paris, 1783, less disgraceful on the part of Great Britain. It was fiercely denounced in the House of Commons ; it was justly stigmatized in the House of Lords. Even Lord St. Germain redeemed himself in a measure by his eloquent advocacy of the brave party who had abandoned everything for honor—principle, the mother-country ; its highest representative of these, the Crown. Lorenzo Sabine has demonstrated all this, laid open the iniquity, revealed the truth, vindicated the

Loyalists or Tories ; for the term Tory, as used in regard to a party adverse to Rebellion or Revolution, during 1775 to 1783, is a title of honor and not a term of reproach.

When the difficulties between the Crown and the Colonies first began to develop into positive ideas of ultimate resistance on the side of the latter, the party for independence was in a comparatively small minority and confined to particular disaffected localities. If the whole population had then resolved itself into two camps, the matter might have been decided promptly and for many years to come. As it happened, those who had much to lose were too timid to act instantly and resolutely ; and those who had little or nothing to lose became bolder and bolder in the presence of an irresolute antagonism, which was not backed by a military force sufficient absolutely to overawe. Massachusetts was unquestionably in earnest from the first ; but antagonism to the Crown was its normal condition. It had always been the hot-bed of what might be harshly termed, from a British point of view, sedition. Although the *first* bloodshed occurred in New York, on the 19th-20th January, 1770, it would not have led to any comparatively general outbreak, had it not been for the terrible uproar following the *second* bloodshed at Boston, 5th March, 1770, and the consequences which ensued from the latter. The very assemblage which considered the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, did not unanimously vote or agree in the act to sever the connection between the colonies and the mother country. The date accepted, 4th of July, is in-

correct ; and the Declaration was juggled through, and the signatures were appended from time to time throughout the year, if not a longer period. This accounts for the irregular manner they appear on the document, since the latest were inserted wherever a vacant space was found. It became a sort of test oath.

The *Judge* published an admirable burlesque, or parody, or caricature of Trumbull's famous picture of "The Signing." It depicts the representatives in very dilapidated conditions, with blackened eyes, bruised bodies, torn clothes and general tokens of an affray, drawing near to affix their signatures at the table where Hancock presides looking like the genius of an Irish wake. There is as much truth as poetry in the conception, for the Declaration was not agreed to with anything like unanimity or the generally conceived harmony.

There is something very curious about the respect attached to this "4th of July." The first Congress of the Colonies signed a "Compact of Union" (R. W. G.'s G. W. and his Gens., II., 15), on the 4th of July, 1754, at Albany. This may account for the selection of this day in 1776. The fact that two of our ex-Presidents, who had signed the Declaration, died on the same date, added additional significance, which a series of victories, from East to West along the whole line on the same day, in 1863, confirmed in the minds of the people.

The Loyalists, confiding in the power of the Crown, did not take up arms as soon as their adversaries ; and thus, when they did begin to embody, they were at once

crushed by stronger and better organized masses. The British professional leaders—as a rule throughout all time, and especially in this country—with the usual arrogance of their caste, neither sought to utilize, support nor protect their friends when they did come together, and even treated them with superciliousness and neglect, if they did not absolutely sacrifice them when they appeared as auxiliaries. Carleton was the first who had the wisdom to call this element into play, and through it he saved Canada, just as the French had previously lost New France through a contrary course to his, amounting to the same subsequent lack of judgment on the part of the royal British military governors.





SIR JOHN JOHNSON,
KNIGHT AND BARONET.

BORN 5TH NOV., 1742. DIED 4TH JAN., 1830.

"The Past appeals to the impartiality of the Future. History replies. But, often, generations pass away ere that reply can be given in a determinate form. For not until the voices of contemporaneous panegyric and censure are hushed ; not until passionate pulses have ceased to beat ; not until flattery has lost its power to charm, and calumny to vilify, can the verdict of history be pronounced. Then from the clouds of error and prejudice the sun of truth emerges, and light is diffused in bright rays, of ever increasing refulgency and breadth. * * * Every age has its own heroes—men who seem to embody the prevailing characteristics of their relative epochs, and to present to after ages the idealized expression of their chief tendencies. Such men must be judged by no ordinary standard. History must view their actions as a whole, not subject them to separate tests, or examine them through the lenses of partial criticism and narrow-minded prejudice."

OSCAR II., King of Sweden, in his "*Life of Charles XII.*"

" I would serve my king ;
Serve him with all my fortune here at home,
And serve him with my person in the wars ;
Watch for him, fight for him, bleed for him, and die for him,
As every true-born subject ought !"

THOMAS OTWAY'S Tragedy, "*The Orphan*," 1680.

Perhaps no man in "the Colonies" who adhered to the Crown, has been so cruelly misjudged and consistently misrepresented as Sir John Johnson. Every possible charge, derogatory to him, has been raked up and brought out against him. Why? Because he did not submit quietly to what he deemed injustice, but struck back boldly and severely—made himself felt, made those

suffer who caused him to suffer. He was the only Loyalist who had the opportunity to force the bitter chalice which he had been compelled to drain, back upon the lips of those who filled it for him, and in turn obliged them to quaff the same hateful draught. The de Lanceys and many other Loyalists fought just as boldly and as bitterly, and as persistently, but they never had the same opportunity as Sir John to make every fibre of antagonism quiver.

The father of Sir John Johnson—the subject of this memoir—was the famous Sir William Johnson, Bart., Colonel in the Royal Army, Major-General in the Provincial service and British Superintendent of Indian Affairs. This gentleman was, perhaps, the most prominent man in the province of New York during the decade which preceded the Declaration of Independence. Peter Van Schaack, a very noted lawyer of the period, wrote, July, 1774, a few days after the Baronet's decease: "I own, I consider him as the GREATEST CHARACTER OF THE AGE." If ever there was a leader who deserved the *Corona Oleagina** of the Romans, it was Sir William. Whether a Jansen—a descendant of one of those indomitable Hollanders who assisted to subdue Ireland, and anglicised their names—or of English race, proper, Sir William was a strong example of those common-sense men who know how to seize Fortune by the forelock and not clutch in vain the

* This *Corona Oleagina*, was a wreath of olive leaves and the reward of a commander through whose instrumentality a triumph had been obtained though not himself in the action by which it was achieved. AUL. GELL., V., 6.; RICH. DICT., R. & G. A.

tresses which flow down her *receding back*. He opened to emigration two of the most productive valleys in the world—the Mohawk and Schoharie; and with the development of their riches rose himself to a height of opulence and influence unequalled in the “Thirteen Colonies.” Just in his dealings with all men, he was particularly so with the Indians, and acquired a power over the latter such as no other individual ever possessed. Transferred from civil jurisdiction to military command he exhibited no less ability in the more dangerous exigencies of war, than in the laborious services of peace. He, it was, who first stemmed the tide of French invasion, and turned it at Lake George, in 1755; receiving both from his sovereign and from Parliament a grateful recognition of his extraordinary services. Nor were the people of the Province of New York less demonstrative in their applause or appreciative of his achievements. At “Johnson Hall” he lived in truly baronial state, and no other provincial magnate ever exhibited such affluence and grandeur as was displayed by him in his castle and home (Fort Johnson) on the Mohawk.

His greatest achievement, in immediate as well as ultimate results, was his victory at Lake George over the veteran Dieskau, 8th August, 1755. New England, always jealous of New York, has endeavored as usual to transfer the laurels from Johnson to one of her own people. As king, country and countrymen accorded the honor and reward to Johnson, “success,” in his case, “proved the test of merit.” That there were New Eng-

landers who could estimate Johnson at his true value, let the following letter (Stone's "Sir W. J.," I., 521) attest. It is from Surgeon Williams, of Massachusetts, to his wife in Deerfield in that colony. It bears the date of the very day of the battle, which, by the way, was exactly a month less a day subsequent to Braddock's defeat; the Provincial by his ability redeeming in New York the incapacity of the Professional and Regular in Pennsylvania:"

"I must say," wrote Williams, "he [Johnson] is a complete gentleman, and willing to please and oblige all men; familiar and free of access to the lowest sentinel; a gentleman of uncommon smart sense and even temper; never saw him in a ruffle, or use any bad language—in short, I never was so disappointed in a person in the idea I had of him before I came from home, in my life; to sum up, he is almost universally beloved and esteemed by officers and soldiers as a *second Marlborough for coolness of head and warmth of heart.*"

His next exploit, scarcely less notable and resultive, was the defeat of a superior French force seeking to relieve Fort Niagara, and his capture of this noted stronghold, 24th July, 1759. The distinguished British general and military historian, Sir Edward Cust, in his "Annals of the Wars," refers in the following language to this notable exploit of Sir William: "This gentleman, like Clive, was a self-taught general, who, by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity, without the help of a military education or military experience, rivalled, if not eclipsed the greatest commanders. Sir William Johnson omitted nothing to continue the vigorous measures of the late gene-

ral [Prideaux, killed] and added to them everything his own genius could suggest. The troops, who respected, and the provincials, who adored him," were not less devoted than the Six Nations of Indians, who gladly followed his own ever fortunate banner and the less fortunate guidon of his no less valiant and loyal son.

Thus, with a sway hard to comprehend at the present day, beloved, respected and feared by law-breakers and evil-doers, the mortal enemies of his semi-civilized wards—the Six Nations—he lived a life of honor; and died, not by his own hand, as stated by prejudiced tradition, but a victim to a chronic debilitating disease, and to that energy which, although it never bent in the service of king or country, had to yield to years and nature. Sick, and thereby unequal to the demands of public business, he presided at a council, 11th July, 1774, spoke and directed, until his ebbing strength failed, and could not be restored by the inadequate remedial measures at hand on the borders of the wilderness. To no one man does central New York owe so much of her physical development as to Sir William Johnson.

Wedded, in 1739, to a Hollandish or German maiden, amply endowed with the best gifts of nature, both physical and mental, "good sound sense, and a mild and gentle disposition," Sir William was by her the father of one son, born in 1742, and two daughters. The latter are sufficiently described in a charming, well-known book, entitled "*The Memoirs of an American Lady*"—Mrs. Grant, of Laggan. The former was Sir John Johnson, a

more heroic representative of the transition era of this State, than those whom Success, and its *Dupe*—History, have placed in the national “Walhalla.” While yet a youth this son accompanied his father to his fields of battle, and, when the generality of boys are at school or college, witnessed two of the bloodiest conflicts on which the fate of the colony depended. He had scarcely attained majority when he was entrusted with an independent command, and in it displayed an ability, a fortitude, and a judgment worthy of riper years and wider experience.

Sent out to England by his father in 1765, “to try to wear off the rusticity of a country education,” immediately upon his presentation at court he received from his sovereign an acknowledgment—partly due to the reputation of his parent, and partly to his own tact and capacity—such as stands alone in colonial history. Although his father, Sir William, was already a knight and baronet for service to the crown, John was himself knighted, at the age of twenty-three; and thus the old-new baronial hall at Johnstown sheltered two recipients, in the same family and generation, of the accolade of chivalry. There is no parallel to this double knighthood in American biography, and but few in the family annals of older countries.

This was the era when “New York was in its happiest state.”

In the summer of 1773, and in his thirtieth year, Sir John Johnson married the beautiful Mary—or, as she was affectionately called, “Polly”—Watts, aged nineteen.

Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, has left us a charming pen-portrait of this bright maiden.

Inheriting his father's dignities and responsibilities, Sir John Johnson could not have been otherwise than a champion of his sovereign's rights. If he had turned his coat to save his property, like some of the prominent patriots, he would have been a renegade, if not worse. Some of the lights of patriotism had already cast longing glances upon his rich possessions in the Mohawk Valley. Its historian intimates (Simms, 120) that in a successful rebellion the latter counted upon dividing his princely domains into snug little farms for themselves. The germ of anti-rentism was developing already; although it took over sixty to seventy years to thoroughly enlist legislative assistance, and perfect spoliation in the guise of modern agrarian law. Surrounded by a devoted tenantry, backed by those "Romans of America," the "Six Nations," those "Indians of the Indians," the Iroquois, it was not easy "to bell the cat" by force. It is neither politic nor intended to revive hereditary animosities by the mention of names. Sufficient to say, might prevailed over right, and Sir John was placed under what the Albany Committee choose to define a "parole." Modern courts of inquiry, especially in the United States since 1860, have decided that such a vague system of paroling is in itself invalid, and that individuals subjected to such a procedure are absolved *de facto* from any pledges.

It is both persistent and popular to charge Sir John with having broken his parole. Before even entering into the

question, it is simple justice to rebut the charge by denial. His superiors did not recognize it, and able men acquainted with military law are not unanimous in holding that a parole, imposed, as it was upon him, was binding either in law or honor. But, even if it were valid, he did not break it, since the very self-constituted authority that imposed it, abrogated it by its own action.

There are two parties to every contract, legal, equitable or honorable, and if one party uses duplicity and manifests the intention to alter an agreement by a procedure which would completely change the relation of the parties, whatever, great or small, could come within or under the legal signification of fraud, or even deception, or "a snare," abrogates every contract. If Sir John gave a parole to any parties having power to exact it, he was entitled to every right and privilege conferred by a parole. If using the parole as a blind, those by whom it was exacted, undertook to withdraw it simultaneously with the substitution of an order for his arrest and close and severe confinement, and the latter could only be effected by treachery to the obligations of the former, common justice must concede that the discovery of such an intention put an end to the obligation of the parole. The treatment of Lady Johnson subsequent to her husband's escape is the very best proof of the *animus* which dictated the course against Sir John. If a body in authority could hold the utmost penalty over the head of a helpless woman, detained as a hostage, it is only fair to believe that there would have been no mercy shown to the defiant husband. The little

rare work already cited in these pages as an authority, "The Adventures of a Lady in the War of Independence in America," sets forth the cruelty exhibited towards Lady Johnson, and, until that can be shown to be false, it must be accepted as a trustworthy witness.

The treatment of Madame de Lavalette, by the French government, for co-operating in the escape of her husband, condemned to death for his adherence to Napoleon in 1815, has always been considered an indelible stigma upon it. General Cust pronounces him innocent of "*treachery*." Still, although this lady suffered a rigorous solitary confinement of twenty-six days, no one dreamed, even at this period, of the intensest feeling and bitterest animosity, or intimated, that she should, or would be, held as a hostage for the conduct of her husband. "Now, Madam," is the language addressed to Lady Johnson, as quoted by her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Colonel Christopher Johnson, "My command does not extend beyond this province; but, if Sir John comes one foot within my district with his murderous allies—*your fate is sealed!*" "How, sir; what do you mean? What can I do!" gasped the lady, overcome for the moment by the information and the manner in which it was conveyed. "I mean, Madam, that if your husband lets his Indians go on scalping our people, we can't prevent then shooting *you* * * Your case, Madam, is different from all others. Sir John [Col. Guy was Superintendent of the Indians, *not* Sir John] has power over the Indians, whom no one else can control. We have no wish to injure you individually; but we must save our people

from his savages. *We hold you and your children as hostages* ; and we consider that another such descent as the Indians made yesterday on the village of —, will justify us in the eyes of the whole world in avenging the slaughter of many women and children, as helpless and more innocent than yourself ! ”

A prominent major-general, a regular officer, distinguished in his profession as well as with his pen, to whom the question of this parole was submitted, decided in favor of Sir John, and a lawyer of standing and an historian of ability has argued this question at length in his Notes, xxx., xxxi., to the “History of New York,” by Judge Thomas Jones, who, likewise, exonerates Sir John. Mr. de Lancey after furnishing his proofs, sums up the matter in these words : “The common charge of historical writers, that Sir John broke his parole, is therefore “*without foundation and untrue.*”*

In a conversation with Gen. B. B. C——, had 5-3-80, discussing the question of paroles, this gentleman, author of “Battles of the American Revolution,” who had given the closest attention to original documents at home and in England, furnished additional arguments as to the impossibility of the right to impose a parole on Sir John. Johnson was put upon parole, so called, by

* In the Appendices (“Proofs Considered”) to the writer’s Address on Sir John Johnson, Bart., delivered before the New York Historical Society, at its annual meeting, 6th January, 1880, Mr. de Lancey has not only been quoted at length, but additional evidence printed derived from other and various sources.

those who were styling themselves at the time "faithful subjects of his Majesty." If faithful subjects, how had Sir John rendered himself liable when the original charges against him were "subsequently proved false?"

There are some curious circumstances connected with this consideration would require a lawyer's brief to make them plain to common observation. Sufficient to say, everything turns on the success of the Revolution. Might made right, and Sir John, who if the Crown had won would have been exalted to the seventh heaven of honor, since the mother country failed, is thrust down into the lowest nether depths by those who rose on his fall and profited by the confiscation of his extensive estates. Such is human judgment. It is to be hoped the same law does not rule elsewhere. If, however, it was a simple exemplification of "might makes right," there is no more to be said. That is the supreme law of this country to-day; no other.

Here it is not only pertinent but just to remark, that Count d'Estaing, the first French Commander who brought assistance to this country, had notoriously broken his parole, and yet American writers have never alluded to the fact as prejudicial to his honor. It did not serve their purpose. The French held that Washington once violated his parole; and Michelet, a devoted friend to liberty and this country, feelingly refers to the case of Jumonville, to demonstrate one of the heart-burnings which France had to overcome in lending assistance to the revolted colonies. Marshall, in his "Life of Wash-

ington," enters into a detailed explanation of this event; but it only shows that if national antagonism is so difficult to reconcile, how much more so is the intenser spite of civil differences after blood has been shed. How many Southern officers, in spite of their paroles, met the Union troops on battlefield after battlefield. Regiments and brigades, if not divisions, paroled at Vicksburg, were encountered, it is averred, within a few weeks in the conflicts around Chattanooga. French generals, paroled by the Prussians, it has also been charged, did not hesitate to accept active commands in even the shortest space of time. Circumstances alter cases, and under those which govern in respect to him, the charge against Sir John was a pretext; but, weak as it is, *it is not true*. Power in all ages has not been delicate in its choice of means to destroy a dangerous antagonist.

It would have been well for some of the noblest historical victims, such as Abner, Amasa, Sertorius, Viriathus, Abd el-Kader, Osceola,—if they had comprehended the spirit of these verses (Ecclesiasticus xii., 10, 16) as well as the reply of van der Does, in Leyden, to the Spanish general Valdez, besieging the place:

"The fowler plays sweet notes on his pipe when he spreads his net for the bird."

Sir John was to have been simultaneously released from his parole and made a prisoner. The officer who carried the communication discharging Sir John from his parole, was the bearer also of directions to arrest him as soon as he had read it, "and make him a close prisoner, and care-

fully guard him that he may not have the least opportunity to escape." Sir John had some friends among those who were now in power, and received intelligence of what was going on. He exercised ordinary discretion, and escaped before the trap—a "snare," as Lossing styles it—could be sprung upon him.

Sir John fled, but he did not fly unaccompanied; and among his subsequent associates, officers and soldiers, were men of as good standing as those who remained behind to profit by the change of authority. Many of the latter, however, expiated their sins or errors on the day of reckoning at Oriskany.

"Sir John, after nineteen days of inconceivable hardships, reached Montreal with his companions in a state of fatigue and destitution which they could not have survived many days longer. The regular roads were so entirely occupied by the rebels, that they had to take a circuitous route through the thickets of the forests. The few provisions the Indians had prepared were soon exhausted, and they had to subsist on roots; their boots and clothes were completely destroyed, and when they reached the shores of the St. Lawrence, it was difficult to recognize or understand the gaunt spectres who emerged from the 'bush,' to seek shelter and a passage across [the St. Lawrence] from the wondering 'habitans' of the first settlement they came to. But a few weeks sufficed to restore Sir John to his usual vigor, both of mind and body; and, before he was able to assume an active command, he was at work organizing a force of Loyalists, of which he is the colonel, and his frequent irruptions into the territory held by the Continentals, as they call themselves, were the causes of your [Lady Johnson's] being removed from Albany. He is charged by them with having broken his word of honor, pledged that he would remain pas-

sive; but we all know that his person would have been seized, had he remained that night [when Col. Dayton arrived] at the Hall." Stone, in his 'Life of Brant' (I., 144), corroborates this. 'After nineteen days of severe hardship, the Baronet and his partisans arrived at Montreal in a pitiable condition—having encountered all of suffering that it seemed possible for man to endure.' Stone then adds (*Ibid*, 144), and he presents almost the identical idea of the magnanimous Sabine (I., 581): 'Sir John was immediately commissioned a colonel in the British service, and raised a command of two battalions, composed of those who accompanied him in his flight, and other American loyalists who subsequently followed their example. They were called the 'Royal Greens.' In the month of January following, he found his way into New York, then in possession of the British forces. From that period he became, not only one of the most active, but one of the bitterest foes of his own countrymen of any who were engaged in that contest—and repeatedly the scourge of his own former neighbors. He was unquestionably a loyalist from principle, else he would scarcely have hazarded, as he did, and ultimately lost, domains larger and fairer than probably ever belonged to a single proprietor in America, William Penn only excepted."

Sabine (I., 581) observes: "It is thought that he was a conscientious loyalist; and this may be allowed. He lived in a style of luxury and splendor which few country gentlemen in America possessed the means to support. His domains were as large and as fair as those of any colonist of his time, the estate of Lord Fairfax only excepted; and no American hazarded more, probably, in the cause of the Crown. *Faithfulness to duty is never a crime; and, if he sacrificed his home, his fortune, and his country, for his principles, he deserves admiration.* * * * The conduct of the Whigs towards him may have been harsh, and, in the beginning, too harsh for his offences."

The majority of those who were most active in wrong-

ing the family of Sir William Johnson experienced severe punishment, either in themselves or their surroundings, and the consequences of their injustice threatened to undo the work of a century and make Schenectady once more a frontier town.

Not able to seize the man (Sir John), disappointment determined to capture a woman. The victim was his wife. Why? The answer is in the words of a letter preserved in the series of the well-known Peter Force, which says: "It is the general opinion of people in Tryon County, that while Lady Johnson is kept as a kind of hostage, Sir John will not carry matters to excess." Lady Johnson must have been a bold woman; for even when under constraint, and in the most delicate condition that a woman can be, she exulted in the prospects of quickly hearing that Sir John would speedily ravage the country on the Mohawk river to redress his own and her wrongs and suffering. To quote another letter from the highest authority, "It has been hinted that she is a good security to prevent the effects of her husband's virulence."

With a determination even superior to that exhibited by her husband, because she was a woman and he a man, Lady Johnson in midwinter, January, 1777, in disguise, made her escape through hardships which would appal a person in her position in the present day. Through the deepest snows, through the extreme cold, through lines of ingrates and enemies, she made her way into the loyal city of New York. Her story reads like a romance. People cite Flora MacDonald, Grace Darrell, Florence Nightin-

gale. We had a heroine in our midst who displayed a courage as lofty as theirs; but she is forgotten, because she was the wife of a man who had the courage to avenge her wrongs even upon the victors, and chastise her enemies and persecutors as well as his own.

It was intended at first to embody the whole of Mrs. Colonel Christopher Johnson's story of her step-mother's wrongs; but this sketch, as it is, will far outrun all previous calculation. For particulars, the reader is referred to the "Appendices" to his Address before the Historical Society, on file there; to pages 76-81, "History of New York," by Judge Thomas Jones; and to Note XXXI. thereto, by Edward Floyd de Lancey, Esq. The conclusion of the story of her escape, after she had parted from her sister, is too interesting and too touching to be omitted.

"We must now follow the course of the poor dispirited, agitated mother, who, though relying much on the zeal and fidelity of her devoted servants, yet felt keenly the loss of her active and affectionate sister [Anne Watts, afterwards Countess of Cassilis], whose stronger health and spirits were such an inestimable support. Poor Tony's [one of her husband's faithful negro slaves, who risked so much from affection for the family] chief ground of consolation arose from the conviction that, being so very near the British lines, they *could* not fail of reaching them—they were almost within sight, he said! Poor fellow, if strength and courage could have insured the safety of his mistress and her children, he would have carried them or fought for them till he had dropped; but, as resistance to sentries was out of the question, the present business of all was to be prepared to exercise self command, and to reply with composure to the

questions that would be asked. Fortunately, Grove House was but a little out of the way of their real destination, and as it was probable inquiries might be made there, it would not have been safe for them to take the sleigh on. They, therefore, stopped at the cattle-shed, a little distance from the mansion, and leaving the sleigh and horse there, with one of their heaviest wrappings, as an indication that they intended to return, pursued their way with as much speed as possible in the direction of the British camp. By means of their pass, and avoidance of the larger bodies posted at different stations, they went on uninterruptedly to the end of that day; and when they reached a resting place for the night, it was a matter of deep thankfulness to find that, as the Continental camp was protected on that side by a wide river just in a state of partial thaw, that rendered the crossing it dangerous for individuals and impracticable for a body of troops, it had been deemed unnecessary to keep that point very strictly guarded. They easily found, as usual, a meal and a bed; but the anxiety of the Lady was cruelly aggravated by the state of her infant, who depending entirely on the nourishment derived from its unfortunate mother, participated in her physical exhaustion and suffering. The elder children, too, were both so fagged that Tony and the nurse were obliged to carry them almost without intermission—so that the poor Lady could hardly be relieved from the burden of the infant. They rose, therefore, the next morning, with trembling frames and spirits, their sole consolation being that they were but two miles from the river; yet how to cross it was a question that could only be solved on its banks. While taking their breakfast, a soldier was seen looking about in the few cottages that were near their refuge, and presently he came in to them. Happily there was no sign of travelling about them, and supposing them to be the established inhabitants, he began explaining his business by asking after some people who had arrived in a sleigh driven by a black. Most fortunately, also, Tony had separated from

them, and was taking his meal in another cottage. The soldier did not seem to have been dispatched with any very exact or urgent directions; but his officer having received a message from the camp near Grove House, to inquire after a party who had been expected there, and had not arrived, sent his servant to gain some information previous to the arrival of more particular instructions. Taking the license which young and inexperienced soldiers are apt to exercise, of using their own judgment, the man said, 'If the Britishers were sending women and children over to us, we'd send them back pretty smartly; but if any of the stupid fellows who are taking old George's pay, instead of fighting for their country, have a mind to have their wives with them, why, I say, let 'em have the keep of 'em; and I think my captain don't much approve of being sent woman-hunting, and not even a written order. However, if you hear anything of 'em, you can let me know. I'm going by the lane round the corner out there, for I believe there's a kind of an inn to be found;' and, so saying, he wished them good-bye, and marched off. No sooner was he out of sight than the terrified females summoned Tony, and with steps quickened by fear set off towards the river. It was no great distance, and on reaching it the state of the ice showed clearly why its shores were not very carefully guarded. It must here be remarked that the danger of crossing a river, partially covered with ice, is different from that incurred in a milder climate. As long as the ice lasts, it is much too thick to give way to the heaviest weights; but when repeated thaws have loosened its firm adherence to the shore, it breaks into enormous masses, which, driving and struggling against each other, and the force of the current, partially released from its winter bondage, form at once one of the grandest exhibitions of Nature, and threaten fearful peril to those who venture to attempt a passage. But, like most dangers to which the natives of a country are habituated, they often risk their lives even for an inconsiderable motive, and it is not uncommon to

see a sleigh passing the well-marked road over the ice, which in two hours afterwards is floating away like a vast field, unbroken till it crashes against another mass, when both pile upon each other in awful grandeur, till further additions shove them on to final destruction.

“By the side of a mighty stream in this state, stand the fugitives, hopeless of escape, and supposing that the hour has come when they must yield themselves back to captivity,—a bitter anticipation after all their toils and dangers. Tony’s experienced eye, however, described, and pointed out to the Lady that the centre of the river was tolerably clear, and that if they could take advantage of one of those moments when the opposing masses were locked against each other, a boat might land them on the opposite side. But could a boat be found? Yes. They see one, and a man in it, paddling about, apparently seeking a safe nook wherein to bestow his little vessel. Tony chose a point nearest the shore, and springing over fissures and firm pieces of ice, succeeded in making the man hear. He was one of those bold, careless characters, who rather enjoyed the risk, as well as the acquirement of the dollars often lavishly bestowed for a passage. It was now unnecessary for the party to feign poverty, therefore the gold hitherto hidden in their garments was produced, and each carrying a child made their way with infinite labor and peril of slipping to the frail vessel, which was to be guided among masses that might in an instant be in motion to crush or overwhelm them. The poor Lady clasped her infant closer and closer to her bosom, not venturing to speak lest she should withdraw Tony’s attention from the guidance of the boat; yet trembling at the suspension of the feeble cries which till then had wrung her heart with anguish. The little face was chilled, and the eyes closed; but though she feared the worst, she yet hoped that it was but the sleep of exhaustion. Half-an-hour, which seemed an interminable period, brought them to the opposite shore. The British tents were within sight, gold

was thrown to the boatman, and though the snow was deep and soft, and the Lady staggered with weakness, she struggled on through a mile which yet separated them from the first line of sentries. Indians were the first who spied the party, and though they received with their usual composure the announcement of the Lady's name,* a glance sent off two of their number towards the camp, while the others, wrapping some furs around the Lady and her infant, lifted them with the utmost care and tenderness in their powerful arms, till they were met by the messengers returning with blankets and mattresses, hastily formed into litters. On these all were carefully deposited and carried on swiftly; Tony weeping with joy and thankfulness over his mistress, and telling her Sir John was coming! The poor mother cast one hopeful glance towards the distance, and another of anxiety upon her infant, who just opened its little eyes, and ere she could see that it was the last convulsion of the sinking frame, she was clasped in the arms of her husband and borne insensible to the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, where every care and comfort was bestowed on her and her children that their exhausted state required. The first delight of being restored to her husband and seeing her children at rest and in safety was marred by the anguish of missing the little loved one, whom she had borne through so much sorrow and suffering. 'But a few hours sooner,' she thought, 'and my pretty one had been saved.' But the joy and thankfulness of those around her soon stilled her repining. Both her surviving children appeared to be entirely restored to health; but with the little girl the appearance was

* Such was the affection borne by the "Six Nations" to the Johnson family, that, many years after, when the writer's father visited them, in Canada, and when the survivors of this once mighty Confederation, "the Romans of America," learned that he had married a niece of Lady Johnson, they adopted him with the affectionate pseudonym (according to Sir William George Johnson, Bart.): "SAITAT-TSINOUIAKION," signifying, in substance, "*One of us.*"

fallacious. After the first week her strength and appetite declined, and her parents had the grief of laying her in an untimely grave, from the destructive effects of cold and exposure on a frame previously debilitated by illness during her mother's captivity, when she could not procure either advice or proper medicines." ("Adventures of a Lady in the War of Independence in America," pages 53-7.)

It is not the intention of this work to reflect upon, or refer to, Revolutionary officials further than is absolutely necessary. The Johnson family, the loyalists, their friends and advocates, present an entirely different statement of facts from those which may be styled the popular account, which is that of the victors, realizing the bitter force of the proverb "*væ victis*." The judgments pronounced by either of these are not more severe in their conclusions and opprobrious in their language than the terms used in the various accounts of the contests between the settlers and their leaders of the New Hampshire Grants, now Vermont, and the authorities of New York and their agents; or of the collisions between the Connecticut settlers and their chief-men in the Wyoming Valley, and the "Pennamites" and their executives seeking to enforce the rights of the Penn Patentees in the Susquehanna Valley, or of the Union party or Loyalists and the Southerners during the "Slaveholder's Rebellion" in 1861-5 and since.

There is nothing so bitter and spiteful, so barbarous and revengful and unforgiving as the rancor and recourse of political struggles and those arising from religious antagonisms, except family feuds. The conflict

of the American Revolution necessarily partook of the nature of all three. Presbyterianism, in one form or another, gave energy to the Revolutionary party, while Episcopalianism was, as a rule, the creed of the Royalists or Loyalists. The former fought to obtain what the others enjoyed, and families and neighborhoods were divided, and blood poured forth like water, with spiteful savageness, by hands whose vigor was derived from the same *veins*, under the impulse of the same brains, of race, kinmanship and connection, family ties and associations. This was especially exemplified in the two bloodiest and decisive encounters of the war, King's Mountain at the South, and Oriskany at the North. In the Carolinas and in the Mohawk Valley, mortals on both sides sometimes surpassed demons in their enmity, because in both, particularly in the latter, fathers, sons, brothers, cousins and former friends exchanged shots, crossed steel and applied the torch. Men of this day cannot conceive the feelings of that, and to judge the Loyalists or Tories by the stories of the Rebels or Patriots is just as fair as to credit the charges of an ultra fire-eating Southerner against Loyal men and the invading troops of the Union. Furthermore, if the fury of the antagonism in the Carolinas equalled that in New York, there was a vast contrast in the legislation that followed the peace. The Carolinas excelled in magnanimity and New York in ungenerous severity. There the offences of the Loyalists were condoned from respect to their gallantry and convictions; in New York the confiscations and penalties were continued in force

and the Loyalists, true-men, were compelled to live and die, as a rule, in poverty, pain, exile and proscription.

All this occurred prior to the spring of 1776.

Sir Guy Carleton, undoubtedly the grandest character among the British military chieftains, at this time, acting independently, in America, received Sir John with open arms, and immediately gave him opportunities to raise a regiment, which made itself know and felt along the frontier, throughout the war. With a fatal parsimony of judgment and its application, the Crown frittered away its strength, in some cases in protecting private or vested interests, and never accumulated sufficient troops at decisive points and moments. The arrival of these was too often delayed and even afterwards they were diverted from objects of highest importance to points where success could produce no lasting result. In 1777, when Burgoyne was preparing for his invasion of New York down the Hudson, St. Leger was entrusted with a similar advance down the Mohawk. Sir Henry Clinton, an able strategist and a brave soldier, but an indolent, nervous mortal, and an inefficient commander, recorded a sagacious opinion on this occasion—endorsed by Continental Nathaniel Greene—viz., that to St. Leger was assigned the most important part in the programme with the most inadequate means of carrying it out. To play this part successfully, required a much larger force; and yet—to take a fort garrisoned by at least 750 (perhaps 950) not inefficient troops, with sufficient artillery (14 pieces?), and fight the whole available population of Tryon County in arms beside,—

St. Leger had not more than about 410 whites and an aggregation of 600 to 800 Indians from 22 different tribes, gathered from the remotest points administered by British officers—even from the extreme western shores of Lake Superior. To batter this fort he had a few small pieces of ordnance, which were about as effective as pop-guns; and were simply adequate, as he says in his report, of “teasing,” without injuring the garrison. St. Leger’s second in command was Sir John Johnson.

For the relief of Fort Stanwix, Major (or only Brigadier) General Harkheimer. Sir John’s old antagonist, gathered up all the valid men in Tryon county, variously stated at from 800 and 900 to 1000, constituting four embodied regiments of militia, besides numerous volunteers of all grades and standing, a few mounted men (Hoffman), and some Oneida Indians. These latter, traitors to a fraternal bond of centuries, seemed about as useless to their new associates as they were faithless to their old ties. To meet Harkheimer, Brigadier-General St. Leger allowed Sir John Johnson to proceed in person and carry out the able plan conceived by the latter. It is now clearly established beyond a doubt that his ability planned and his determination fought the battle of Oriskany. Had the Indians shown anything like the pluck of white men, not a Provincial would have escaped. In spite of their inefficiency, Sir John’s whites alone would have accomplished the business had it not been for “a shower of blessing” sent by Providence, and a recall to the assistance of St. Leger. As it was, this was the bloodiest battle of the

Revolution at the North. Indecisive on the field of battle, it was morally decisive in results. Harkheimer lost his life, likewise several hundred of his followers, and Tryon County suffered such a terrific calamity, that, to use the inference of its historian, if it smiled again during the war it smiled through tears. The iron will of Schuyler, another old, almost life-long personal and political antagonist of Sir John, sent Arnold, the best soldier of the Revolution, to save Fort Stanwix, the key to the Mohawk valley. The rapid advance of this brilliant leader, and the dastardly conduct and defection of the Indians, preserved the beleaguered work; and St. Leger and St. John were forced to retire. On this salvation of Fort Stanwix and not on, properly speaking, Hoosic or Walloomscoik, mis-called Bennington, nor on Saratoga, hinged the fate of the Burgoyne invasion and the eventful certainty of independence. No part of the failure is chargeable to Sir John.

As before mentioned, the English war administration seemed utterly inadequate to the occasion. They had not been able to grapple with its exigencies while the colonies were "doing for themselves," as Mazzini expressed it. When France and Spain entered the list, and Burgoyne's army had been eliminated from the war problem, they seem to have lost their heads; and, in 1778, abandoned all the fruits of the misdirected efforts of their main army. The nervous Clinton succeeded to the indolent Howe in the field, and the uncertain Haldimand to the determined Carleton in Canada. Haldimand, a Swiss by birth and a veteran by service, was entirely deficient in the

priceless practical abilities in which his predecessor excelled. Those who knew him considered him an excellent professional soldier, but for administration and organization his gifts were small. He was so afraid that the French and Provincials would invade and dismember the remaining British possessions in North America, that he not only crippled Clinton in a measure, by constant demands for troops, but he was afraid to entrust such brilliant partisans as Sir John Johnson with forces sufficient to accomplish anything of importance. He suffered raids when he should have launched invasions, and he kept almost every available company and battalion for the defence of a territory, which, except in its ports, was amply protected by nature and distance. Washington played on his timidity just as he afterward fingered the nervousness of Clinton. Thus the rest of 1777, the whole of 1778, and the greater part of 1779 was passed by Sir John in comparatively compulsory inactivity. He was undoubtedly busy. But like thousands of human efforts which cost such an expenditure of thought and preparation, but are fruitless in marked results, their records are "writ in water."

In 1779 occurred the famous invasion of the territory of the Six Nations by Sullivan. In one sense it was triumphant. It did the devil's work thoroughly. It converted a series of blooming gardens, teeming orchards and productive fields into wastes and ashes. It was a disgrace to developing civilization, and, except to those writers who worship nothing but temporary success, it called forth

some of the most scathing condemnations ever penned by historians. When white men scalp and flay Indians, and convert the skins of the latter's thighs into boot-tops, the question suggests itself, which were the savages, the Continental troops or the Indians. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, for every Indian slain and Indian hut consumed in this campaign, a thousand white men, women and children paid the penalty; and it is almost unexceptionally admitted that the inextinguishable hatred of the redskins to the United States dates from this raid of Sullivan, worthy of the Scottish chief who smoked his enemies to death in a cavern, or of a Pellissier, a St. Arnaud or a Pretorius. Simmes, in his "History of Schoharie County," N. Y., commenting on Sir John's devastations in 1880, remarks: "Thus was revenged the destruction of the Indian possessions in the Chemung and Genesee Valleys the year before by General Sullivan; *which, had they a historian, would be found a no less gloomy picture.*"

Sullivan's ultimate military objective must have been Fort Niagara, the basis, for about a century, of inroads, French and British, upon New York. Why he did not make the attempt requires a consideration would occupy more space than can be assigned in this memoir. There were adversaries in his front who did not fear pop-gun artillery like the Indians, and were not to be dismayed by an "elegant" cannonade as at Newtown. Haldimand had sent Sir John Johnson to organize a body of 500 (N. Y. Col. Doc., viii., 779) white troops, besides

the Indians, and these were rapidly concentrating (Stone's "Brandt," II., 10) upon Sullivan, when the latter counter-marched. American historians give their reasons for this retreat; British writers explain it very differently. In any event this expedition was the last military command enjoyed by Sullivan. The Scripture here affords an expression which may not be inapplicable. "He departed without being desired."

Sir John's further aggressive movements were prevented by the early setting in of winter, which rendered the navigation of Lake Ontario too dangerous for the certain dispatch of the necessary troops and adequate supplies.

The diligent search for information in regard to the details of the movements upon this frontier, has been hitherto baffled. According to a reliable contemporary record, Sir John Johnson, Col. Butler and Capt. Brandt captured Fort Stanwix on the 2d of November, 1779. This is the only aggressive operation of the year attributed to him.

In 1780 Sir John was given head, or let loose, and he made the most of his time. In this year he made two incursions into the Mohawk Valley, the first in May and the second in October.

There is a very curious circumstance connected with the first of these raids. The burial of his valuable plate and papers, and the guarding of the secret of this deposit by a faithful slave, although sold into the hands of his master's enemies; the recovery of the silver through this

faithful negro, and the transport of the treasures, in the knapsacks of forty soldiers, through the wilderness to Canada; has been related in so many books that there is no need of a repetition of the details. One fact, however, is not generally known. Through dampness the papers had been wholly or partially destroyed; and this may account for a great many gaps and involved questions in narratives connected with the Johnson family. The "treasure-trove" eventually was of no service to him. God maketh the wrath of man to praise Him; and although Sir John was the rod of His anger, the staff of His indignation and the weapon of His vengeance for the injustice and barbarisms shown by the Americans to the Six Nations, but especially during the preceding year, the instrument was not allowed to profit, personally, by the service.* The silver and other articles, retrieved at such a cost of peril, of life, of desolation and of suffering, was not destined to benefit anyone. What, amid fire and sword and death and devastation, had been wrenched from the enemy was placed on shipboard for conveyance to England, and, by the "irony of fate," the vessel foundered in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and its precious freight, like that described in the "*Nibelungen Lied*," sank into the treasury of so much of earth's richest spoils and possessions; the abyss of the sea.

* According to another tradition—as little reliable, perhaps, as such legends usually are—the vessel did not founder, but was captured by a New England privateer out of Salem, Mass. Another legend attributes Sir John's ill luck and loss to a French letter-of-marque.

There is a curious but complete moral in the career of Sir John Johnson. Those who from purely selfish motives persecuted him for his adherence to the crown—loyal from principle and simply striving to save his own; perished or suffered some other just punishment. Nevertheless, Sir John, the instrument of their chastisement, did not profit by his success to the extent of regaining his own, through his triumphant retaliation upon his enemies. The course and consequence of the whole original wrong-doing and reprisals realized the prophecy of Isaiah, to the effect that when the Lord had performed his whole work upon Judah, through the Assyrian, “the rod of his anger and the staff of his indignation,” he declared that in turn he would punish the instrument, because he had exceeded his commission and made it, as it were, a personal matter. Judah, the Whigs, were to be scourged to the bone for their sins, but the flail, the Loyalists, were not to profit personally by it. This is just about the view that the honest Sabine takes of the whole matter and agrees with the expression of Zechariah, that God was “sore displeased” with those whom he employed to execute his punishment, because he “was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction.” So it is ever, alas, in this world. As Ecclesiasticus impresses upon its readers, there is an existing and unerring law of compensation. The pendulum of what “will be” sweeps far to the right, but the law of “must be” gravitates and the momentum brings it back as far to the left; and thus it swings, to and fro, as long as the impetus of cause and result continues to exert their forces; like a thousand agencies, great and small, scourging the world: the west like Attila, the east like Tamerlane; a continent, Europe, like Napoleon, or a country apart, Italy, like Hannibal; a province, as the Lowlands of Scotland, like Montrose, or a district, the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys, like Johnson. When the mission is fulfilled and the victims have suffered, the agent perishes or the instrument is laid aside; the former often dying peaceably, tranquilly, trustingly; because, however man may judge the act, it is God, alone, who

can judge the motive, which is often fidelity to principle, pure and simple, and an execution in rigid obedience to a law that humanity cannot comprehend. Men in their wrath sow the wind to reap the whirlwind of the passions they arouse. The Whigs of the Mohawk Valley worked their will upon the Tories in 1776, and, if the day of evil had not been mercifully shortened for them, the rich district they coveted would have been left to them a desert.

It is said that Sir John's second invasion of this year was co-ordinate with the plan of Sir Henry Clinton, of which the basis was the surrender of West Point by Arnold. If so, the former bore to the latter the same relation that the advance of St. Leger did in respect to Burgoyne. St. Leger's failure burst the combined movement of 1777; and the capture of the unfortunate André exploded the conception of 1780. Thus Sir John's movement, which was to have been one of a grand military series, unhappily for his reputation became an apparent "mission of vengeance," executed, however, with a thoroughness which was felt far beyond the district upon which the visitation came—came in such a terrible guise, that a hundred years have scarcely weakened the bitterness of its memories. Whatever else may be debited to him, it can be said of Johnson, as of certain, but few, other honest, earnest, Loyal men, who have offended the masses, that he did his work effectively.

Even in 1781 Sir John was still a menace to the frontier. Affairs in New York and Vermont, along Lake Champlain, were in a very unsatisfactory condition. All the assistance that could be hoped for from France was directed to

another and a distant quarter. The very districts of New York which had rallied to oppose Burgoyne and his lieutenants, were disaffected. "The poison was actively at work even in Albany." At this time an expedition was meditated against Pittsburgh, to be led by Sir John Johnson and Colonel Connelly, in connection with combinations among the hostile Indians more extensive than any previously set on foot. Why these all failed is among the unsolved enigmas of the Revolution. If they depended on Gen. Haldimand, the explanation is clear. He had not sufficient activity, either of mind or body, to hold the wires, much less to pull them with the requisite energy.

Although scarcely one hundred years have passed away since the events considered in this sketch, there are almost as conflicting accounts of the personal appearance of Sir John as there are antagonistic judgments in respect to his character. By some he has been represented as over six feet in height; by others as not taller than the ordinary run of men in his district. Doubtless in mature years he was a stout or stalwart figure, and this, always at least to some extent, detracts from height, and deceives unless everything is in exact proportion. The only likeness in existence, said to be of him, which is in accordance with descriptions, is a red stipple engraving of F. Bartolozzi, R. A., that appeared in some contemporary publication, representing him in uniform. It is not inconsistent with the pictures of him at a more advanced age, ordinarily produced in well-known recent works.

These, however, from the costume and expression, seem to have been taken at a much later date.*

By his inveterate hereditary enemies and historians, so styled, who have adopted traditionary bias as fact, Sir John has been "described as cold, haughty, cruel and implacable, of questionable" courage, and with a feeble sense of personal honor. Mr. William C. Bryant, in his admirable biographical sketch, disposes of this repulsive picture with a single honest sentence: "The detested title of *Tory*, in fact, was a synonym for all these un-amiable qualities."

According to a recently found sketch of Charleston, South Carolina, published in 1854, it would appear that every American opposed to French Jacobinism was stigmatized as an aristocrat; and when Washington approved of Jay's treaty of 1795, six prominent advocates of his policy were hung in effigy and polluted with every mark of indignity; then burned. Even the likeness of Washington, at full length, on a sign, is reported to have been much abused by the rabble. These patriots experienced the same treatment accorded to the character of Sir John. The procession at Poughkeepsie, in this State, to ratify the adoption of the Federal Constitution, came near end-

* Mr. de Lancey, at page 642 (Note Iv.), Vol. 2, appended to Jones' "History of New York," &c., furnishes a description of Sir John, which tallies exactly with the colored engraving by Bartolozzi, in the writer's possession, which has been reproduced for this work.

"He was a handsome, well-made man, a little short, with blue eyes, light hair, a fresh complexion, and a firm but pleasant expression. He was quick and decided in disposition and manner, and possessed of great endurance."

ing in bloodshed. Any one opposed to slavery, when it existed, risked his life, south of "Mason and Dixon's line," if he uttered his sentiments in public. No virtues would have saved him from violence. On the other hand, there were classes and communities at the North who would not concede a redeeming quality to a slaveholder. Passion intensifies public opinion. The masses never reflect.

Here let a distinction be drawn which very few, even thinking persons, duly appreciate. The rabble are not the people. Knox, in his "Races of Men," draws this distinction most clearly. And yet in no country to such an extent as in the United States is this mistake so often made. Old Rome was styled by its own best thinkers and annalists "the cesspool of the world;" and if any modern State deserves this scathing imputation, it is this very State of New York. Count Tallyrand-Perigord said that as long as there is sufficient virtue in the thinking classes to assimilate what is good, and reject what is vicious in immigration, there is true progress and real prosperity. When the poison becomes superior to the resistive and assimilative power, the descent begins. It is to pander to the rabble, not the people, that men like Sir John Johnson are misrepresented. Such a course is politic for demagogues. To them the utterance of the truth is suicidal, because they only could exist through perversions worthy of a Machiavelli. They thrive through political Jesuitism. The Roman populace were maintained and restrained by "*panem et circences*." The

bulk of modern voters feed like them—to use the Scripture expression—on the wind of delusion; and it is this method of portraiture which enabled Local Committees to strike down Sir John Johnson, confiscate his property and drive him forth, and “Rings” to carry out their purposes in our very midst to-day.

People of the present period can scarcely conceive the virulence of vituperation which characterized the political literature of a century since. Hough, in his “*Northern Invasion*,” has a note on this subject which applies to every similar case. The gist of it is this: The opinions of local populations in regard to prominent men were entirely biased, if not founded upon their popularity or the reverse. If modern times were to judge of the character of Hannibal by the pictures handed down by the gravest of Roman historians, he would have to be regarded as a man destitute of almost every redeeming trait except courage and ability or astuteness; whereas, when the truth is sifted out, it is positively certain that the very vices attributed to the great Carthaginian should be transferred to his Latin adversaries.

Sir John was not cold. He was one of the most affectionate of men. Mr. Bryant tells us that he was not “haughty,” but, on the contrary, displayed qualities which are totally inconsistent with this defect. “His manners were peculiarly mild, gentle and winning. He was remarkably fond of the society of children, who, with their marvellous insight into character, bestowed upon him the full measure of their unquestioning love

and faith. He was also greatly attached to all domestic animals, and notably very humane and tender in his treatment of them." Another writer, commenting upon these traits, remarks: "His peculiar characteristic of tenderness to children and animals, makes me think that the stories of his inhumanity during the War of the Revolution cannot be true."

He was NOT "cruel." A number of anecdotes are related to the contrary by those not peculiarly favorable to him. These in themselves, recorded as they are by partisans of a different order of things to those represented by the Johnsons, are sufficient to raise strong doubts of the truth of the charges brought against him, even if they do not positively disprove such a sweeping judgment.

The honest Bryant penned a paragraph which is pertinent in this connection.

"Sir John, certainly, inherited many of the virtues which shed lustre upon his father's name. His devotion to the interests of his government; his energetic and enlightened administration of important trusts; his earnest championship of the barbarous race which looked up to him as a father and a friend; his cheerful sacrifice of a princely fortune and estate on what he conceived to be the altar of patriotism, cannot be controverted by the most virulent of his detractors. The atrocities which were perpetrated by the invading forces under his command are precisely those which, in our annals, have attached a stigma to the names of Montcalm and Burgoyne. To restrain an ill-disciplined rabble of exiled Tories and

ruthless savages was beyond the power of men whose humanity has never in other instances been questioned."

The majority of writers absolved Montcalm; and Burgoyne disclaimed, and almost conclusively proved, that he was not responsible for the charges brought against him by the grandiloquent Gates and others, who did not hesitate to draw upon their imagination to make a point. Sir John, with his own lips, declared, in regard to the cruelties suffered by the Whigs during his first inroad, that "their Tory neighbors, and not himself, were blamable for those acts." It is said that Sir John much regretted the death of those who were esteemed by his father, and censured the murderer. But how was he to punish! Can the United States at this day, with all its power, punish the individual perpetrators of cruelties along the Western frontier and among the Indians? It is justly remarked that if the "Six Nations" had an historian, the Chemung and Genesee valleys, desolated by Sullivan, would present no less glaring a picture than of those of the Schoharie and Mohawk, which experienced the visitations of Sir John. He, at all events, ordered churches and other buildings, certainly the houses of nominal friends, to be spared. Sullivan's vengeance was indiscriminate, and left nothing standing in the shape of a building which his fires could reach. Sir John more than once interposed his disciplined troops between the savages and their intended victims. He redeemed captives with his own money; and while without contradiction he punished a guilty district with military execution, it was not

directed by his orders or countenance against individuals. Hough, for himself, and quoting others, admits that "no violence was offered to women and children." There is nothing on record or hinted to show that he refused mercy to prisoners; no instance of what was termed "Tarleton's quarter" is cited; nothing like the wholesale slaughter of Tories by Whigs at the South whenever the latter got the chance or upperhand: no summary hanging of prisoners as at King's Mountain; and it is very questionable if cold-blooded peculation in the American administrative corps did not kill off incalculably more in the course of a single campaign, than fell at the hands of all, white and red, directed by Johnson, during the war.

As to the epithet "implacable," it amounts to nothing. To the masses, anyone who punishes a majority, even tempering justice with mercy, provided he moves in a sphere above the plane of those who are the subjects of the discipline, is always considered not only unjust but cruel. The patriots or rebels of Tryon county had worked their will on the liberties of the family and the properties of Sir John Johnson; and he certainly gave them a good deep draught from the goblet they had originally forced upon his lips. He did not live up to the Christian code which all men preach and no man practices, and assuredly did not turn the other cheek to the smiter, or offer his cloak to him who had already stolen his coat. Will any unprejudiced person deny that there was great justification for his conduct. The masses a century since and previous could understand nothing that was not brought home to them in

letters of fire and of suffering. Their compassion and their fury were both the blaze of straw; and their cruelty was as enduring as the heat of red hot steel, especially when their passions were thoroughly excited in civil and religious conflicts.

There is only one more charge against Sir John to dispose of, viz., that "his courage was questionable." The accusation in regard to his having a "feeble sense of personal honor" rests upon the stereotyped fallacy in regard to the violation of his parole. This has already been treated of and declared, by experts, to be unsustained by justice. In fact, Mr. Edward Floyd de Lancey has proved that he did not do so. In this connection it is necessary to cite a few more pertinent words from the impartial William C. Bryant. This author says: "Sir John's sympathies were well known, and he was constrained to sign a pledge that he would remain neutral during the struggle then impending. There is no warrant for supposing that Sir John, when he submitted to this degradation, secretly determined to violate his promise on the convenient plea of duress, or upon grounds more rational and quieting to his conscience. The jealous espionage to which he was afterwards exposed—the plot to seize upon his person and restrain his liberty—doubtless furnished the coveted pretext for breaking faith with the 'rebels.'"

Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, whose "History of New York" is one of the most remarkable productions of the age, writing with the bias of an American, but nevertheless desirous of doing justice to both sides, makes the following remarks

in regard to Sir John Johnson.* “He was known to be a powerful leader of men; he possessed the magnetism which inspired devotion.” “Enough has been said about his own

* In regard to the personal appearance of Sir John, there are as wide discrepancies as in the opinions affecting his character. This, however, should not be surprising to any close student of history. Greater divergencies present themselves in different accounts of the Earl of Bothwell; some picturing him as strikingly ugly and boorish, others as eminently handsome and courtly; also of the Russian hero Suwarrow, who appears in one portrait as tall and commanding, in another as diminutive and repulsive, in one an eccentric genius, but still a genius; in another a buffoon devoid of even courage and ability. Where prejudice mixes the colors and passion holds the brush nothing like truth can be hoped for. “*Homo solus aut deus aut dæmon*,” and party or faction elevate a friend or an ally to the former, or sink an enemy or opponent to the latter. This is particularly the case in civil wars. In them there is no *juste milieu* of feeling or opinion. Mr. Wm. C. Bryant, Sir John's most generous American biographer, presents him as six feet two, and large in proportion. This would almost make him gigantic. His kinsman, Edward F. de Lancey, Esq., historian, draws an entirely different portrait. It would be hard to reconcile such contrasts, were it not that some men, like the late General, our great George H. Thomas, are so erect and imposing that they impress beholders with the idea that their physical proportions are as mighty as their intellect and influence. A similar judgment—*absit invidia*—is apposite, as to the moral characteristics of Sir John.

It has been remarked that failure is the greatest crime that mortality recognizes, and that some of the most cruel tyrants would be accepted as exemplars if they had not failed. Such is the opinion of Froude, in regard to the Duke of Alva. He justly remarks: “Religious”—yes, more especially political history—“is partial in its verdicts. The exterminators of the Canaanites are enshrined among the saints, and had the Catholics come off victorious, the Duke of Alva would have been a second Joshua.” The opinions of the people of this colony or State could scarcely be otherwise than unjust and injurious in regard to a man who, to a most important portion of it, resembled a tornado or a phenomenal tropical storm. Such catclysms are not instantaneous developments, but the result of a series of causes. Their immediate effects are never beneficial. Their ultimate effects are often eminently so. The idea that Sir William Johnson committed sui-

fearful losses and the unjustifiable sufferings to which his wife was subjected. She had escaped, thanks to God and herself (1776).” “Thus no restraint could now be imposed

cide to avoid the dilemma of casting his lot in with rebellion or against the crown is utterly preposterous—one of those insane self-delusions that the American people indulged in, blinded with the idea of their own self-consequence. That a man who owed everything to the King, who had pre-eminently distinguished and rewarded him, should go over to the enemies of that monarch, would have stamped him at once as unworthy of the very benefits he had received. Centuries since, the the people were not of the consequence in the eyes of the ruling classes that they have since become. In this remark there is no attempt to presume that the people do not deserve the consideration they are now enabled to exact. But the fact is indisputable that they did not then enjoy it. Washington and Jefferson, and all the great lights of the Revolution, did not regard the masses as the politicians of this day are compelled to do. If they could rise from their graves they would marvel at the almost incredible progress made by the mass of humanity, in wringing, even from despots, a consideration for their opinions.

It is just as ridiculous to imagine that Sir John Johnson would be false to his allégiance as to imagine that Sir William killed himself to avoid changing his uniform. None of the most ardent patriots, so styled, desired in 1775 that complete severance of ties between the mother country and the colonies which the success of the latter gradually more and more concentered into a fixed determination. The wisest could not have foreseen the armed intervention of France and Spain, and yet, without this, independence could not have been secured. The event was still doubtful in 1781, and it was only a concurrence of circumstances beyond mortal control that decided the struggle. For Sir John Johnson to have turned his back on all those characteristics which, by generous minds, are regarded as the finest qualities in man—gratitude, loyalty, consistency—might have made him popular with those who would have profited by his treason, but would have damned him in greater degree with those whose opinions he valued. It is just about as sensible to expect an impartial verdict upon Montrose and Claverhouse from the Whigs and Covenanters of Scotland as from the people of central New York upon Sir John Johnson. No man who is connected by the ties of blood or interest, or who has made up his mind, has a right to sit upon a jury; and no one imbued with the prejudices of the Mohawk Valley, or its historians, has a moral right

upon Sir John's movements, since his family were safe under British protection, and he plunged into the strife with a bitterness scarcely to be equalled. And he was as

to sit in judgment upon the Johnsons. Again, Sir John Johnson did not desire to have anything to do with the manipulation of the Indians. After his father's death he was offered the succession of Sir William, as Indian Superintendent under the Crown, and he refused it, and, at his suggestion, it was given to his cousin Guy. These two have been often confounded: and, on one occasion, when a public defence of Sir John was being made, a descendant of sufferers at the hands of the Indians rose to oburgate Sir John, and had his whole ground cut from under him by the simple demonstration that the party inculpated by him was Colonel Guy, and not Sir John. Let no one think that this is an excuse of the latter at the expense of Guy; but there is a proverb as old as language: "Let each man claim his own credit, or bear his own blame."

The Whigs, or Patriots, or Rebels, of 1774-6, made out a long list of grievances against the Crown, on which they founded the Revolution. Among these, none was so prominent as the hated Stamp Act.

It has been justly said that, in carping or commending, the eyes of most critics are like the turbot's, both on one side. This has never been shown more clearly than the American consideration of the Stamp Act. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," 1882, Vol. III., Chap. 12, p. 340, has summed up the whole matter conclusively against the Colonies, and his verdict is irrefutable:

"I have no wish to deny that the Stamp Act was a grievance to the Americans; but it is due to the truth of history that the *gross exaggerations* which have been repeated on the subject should be dispelled and that the nature of the alleged tyranny of England should be clearly defined. It cannot be too distinctly stated, that there is not a fragment of evidence that any English statesman, or any class of the English people, desired to raise anything by direct taxation from the colonies for purposes that were purely English. They asked them to contribute nothing to the support of the navy which protected their coasts, nothing to the interest of the English debt. At the close of a war which had left England overwhelmed with additional burdens, in which the whole resources of the British Empire had been strained for the extension and security of the British territory in America, by which the American colonists had gained incomparably more than any other of the subjects of the crown, the colonies were asked to bear their share in the burden of the Empire by contributing a third part—they would no doubt ultimately have been asked to contribute the whole—of what was required for the maintenance of an army of 10,000 men, intended primarily for their own defence. £100,000 was the highest estimate of what the Stamp Act would

brave and energetic as he was vindictive, Jones says, that he did more mischief to the rebel settlements upon the

annually produce, and it was rather less than a third part of the expenses of the new army. This was what England asked from the most prosperous portion of her Empire. Every farthing which it was intended to raise in America, it was intended also to spend there."

England (Great Britain) was right and just and the Thirteen Colonies were wrong and ungenerous; and yet the best men in the Colonies suffered for their obedience to the orders of legally constituted authority. They were made to suffer officially and personally, in every line and every degree, in succeeding generations.

The Americans expend volumes of sympathy upon the victims of the British prison-ships. Are they aware that their own side had prison-ships, and on one occasion a number of captives perished in consequence, by a single accident? Are they aware that there was a copper mine in Connecticut, to which respectable people were consigned as laborers, with a want of feeling akin to that with which the Czar Nicholas and his predecessors sent off convoys of noble champions of what they deemed the right, to Siberia. Lynch law was as active among the Patriots as on the so-styled borders of civilization, and the term does not emanate from the semi-barbarous West, but from the anti-revolutionary times and centre of Vermont. As an honest descendant of one of the sufferers at Wyoming justly observed, upon the very spot and under the shadow of the commemorative monument: "The story has two sides, and I am not going to allow myself to be carried away by the prejudices of tradition." To exonerate Sir John Johnson is to condemn his opponents, and to him and them is applicable the sentence of the Highest Authority: "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." Sir John did not inaugurate the conflict. He was defendant, and not plaintiff, either in the courts of law or the ordeal of battle.

How many of those who stirred up the difficulty perished at Oriskany, where first the wager of battle occurred, and how many were impoverished in the course of the conflict? Again, the Scripture observes: "Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee." Good, undoubtedly, was evolved out of the evil that was done, but how many of those who were its agents lived to see the day? "The mills of the gods grind slowly;" and time with God is nothing. The grist can only be valued when His time has come. Piedmont or Sardinia, Italy, expelled the Waldenses, and was compelled to permit them to return. Spain drove out the Moors, and accepted comparative ruin as the

frontiers of New York than all the partisans in the British service put together.”

The charge of “questionable courage” is utterly ridiculous.

It originated with his personal enemies, and, if such evidence were admissible, it is disproved by facts. There is scarcely any amount of eulogy which has not

price of bigoted oppression. France thrust out the Huguenots, and thereby enriched and fortified hereditary enemies. The Stuarts persecuted the Puritans, and, lo, the American Revolution! France assisted a rebellion, and the retribution came within fifteen years. The Americans drove out the Loyalists,* and they constituted the bone and sinew, the industry and wealth of the Dominion of Canada.

The Seven United States, or Provinces of Holland, two hundred to three hundred years ago, were the “Asylum of Thought,” the “Refuge” of persecuted mankind, and the freest country in the world. They fell before their time, from three causes, which are destined to wreck this country: centralization, the mistaking of national wealth for national greatness, and the mistaking of the virulence of political partisanship for the virtue of patriotism. These three disintegrated the whole structure of the body politic, and, when the storm arose and beat upon it, the condition of the fabric revealed itself in ruins.

The gods of Homer nod, and an æon has passed away. God shuts his eyes to the evil, and centuries pass away before the expiation comes: but it does come.

* “A number of Loyal Refugees had petitioned, and been permitted by Sir Henry Clinton to embody under proper officers, and to retaliate and make reprisals upon the Americans declared to be in actual rebellion against their sovereign. A party of them, who had formerly belonged to the Massachusetts, made an attempt upon Falmouth, in Barnstable county, but were repulsed by the militia. They renewed it, but not succeeding, went off to Nantucket, and landed 200 men, entered the town, broke open warehouses, and carried off large quantities of oil, whalebone, molasses, sugar, coffee, and everything that fell in their way. They also carried off two brigs, loaded for the West Indies, two or three schooners, and a large number of boats. In a proclamation they left behind *they took notice of their having been imprisoned, compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends and connections, had their estates sequestered, and been themselves formally banished, never to return, on pain of death. Thus circumstanced, they conceived themselves warranted, by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to use every means in their power to obtain compensation for their sufferings.*” 5th April, 1778. Gordon, III., 236-7.

been lavished upon Arnold's expedition from the Kennebec, across the great divide between Maine and Canada, down to the siege of Quebec, and the same praise has been extended to Clarke for his famous march across the drowned lands of Indiana. Arnold deserves all that can be said for him, and so does Clarke, and everyone who has displayed equal energy and intrepidity. It is only surprising that similar justice has not been extended to Sir John. It is universally conceded that, when he made his escape from his persecutors, in 1776, and plunged into the howling wilderness to preserve his liberty and honor, he encountered all the suffering that it seemed possible for a man to endure. Even Napoleon admitted that Courage is secondary to Fortitude. As one, well acquainted with the Adirondack wilderness, remarked, "such a traverse would be an astonishing feat, even under favorable circumstances and season, at this day." Sir John was nineteen days in making the transit, and this, too, at a time when snow and drifts still blocked the Indian paths, the only recognized thoroughfares. No man deficient in spirit and fortitude would ever have made such an attempt. Both of the invasions under his personal leading were characterized by similar daring. In some cases the want of intrepidity was assuredly on the part of those who hurled the epithet at him. American writers admit it by inference, if not in so many words.

One of the traditions of Tryon county, which must have been well-known to be remembered after the lapse of a century, seems to be to the effect that in the last battle,

known as the fight on Klock's Field, or near Fox's Mills, both sides ran away from each other. In degree this was the case at Bull Run 1st. Were it true of both sides, it would not be an extraordinary occurrence. Panics, more or less in proportion, have occurred in the best of armies. There was a partial one after Wagram, after Guastalla, after Solferino, and at our first Bull Run. But these are only a few among scores of instances that might be cited. What is still more curious, while a single personal enemy of Sir John charged him with quitting the field, his antagonist, Gen. van Rensselaer, was generally abused for not capturing Sir John and his troops, although a court-martial decided that, *while the General did all he could*, his troops were very "bashful," as the Japanese term it, about getting under close fire, and they had to be withdrawn from it to keep the majority from going to the rear. The fact is that the American State Levies, quasi-regulars, under the gallant Col. Brown, had experienced such a terrible defeat in the morning, that it took away from the militia all their appetite for another fight with the same adversaries in the evening. Sir John's conduct would have been excusable if he had quitted the field because he had been wounded, and a wound at this time, in the thigh, in the midst of an enemy's country, was a casualty which might have placed a man "fighting," so to speak, "with a halter around his neck," at the mercy of an administration which was not slow, with or without law, at inflicting cruelties, and even "hanging in haste and trying at leisure." But Sir John did

not quit the field prematurely. He was not there to fight to oblige his adversaries; his tactics were to avoid any battle which was not absolutely necessary to secure his retreat. He repulsed his pursuers and he absolutely returned to Canada, carrying with him as prisoners an American detachment which sought to intercept and impede his movements.

To qualify Sir John's evasion from Klock's Field as evincing want of courage, is to stigmatize as such the repeated retreats of Washington, "the Father of his Country," before superior enemies, or the withdrawals after Antietam and Gettysburg, or from Petersburg, of Lee, the idol of the South. A successful retreat or escape in desperate circumstances is credited to a general as equivalent to a victory. To bring such a charge against Sir John on this occasion is as just as to censure Frederic the Great for disappearing from the field of Liegnitz when he had made Loudon "get out of that," as did van Rensselaer's militia, and then did not wait to be fallen upon with crushing force by Daun and Lascy, represented in this case by Colonels Duboise and Harper, who had more men than he could oppose to them. Sir John's capture of Vrouman's detachment, sent to intercept him, will complete the parallel as a set off to Frederic's tricking Soltikoff, advancing for a similar purpose to complete the toils, in 1760.

"I know," said St. Paul (Phillipians iv., 12), "both how to be abased, and I know how to abound." This remark applies eminently to war. Alexander, Hannibal,

Cæsar, Gustavus, Frederic and Napoleon knew when to retreat and when to fight—the latter *never at the volition of an enemy*. Some generals are known to fame by little more than successful retreats: those of Baner from Torgau, in 1637; Vaudomont before Villeroy, in 1695; Frederic before Traun, in 1744; Moreau through the Black Forest, in 1796, and a hundred others are cited as brilliant efforts of generalship, better than victories, when a thousand successful battles are forgotten as unworthy of exemplary citation.

This little work, it is true, is treating of operations which are mere pigmies in comparison to the gigantic parallels cited, in connection; but the trite remark must be remembered, that “the destinies of the world were being decided in America (during the Revolution) by collisions between mere detachments or squads of men.”

While van Rensselaer, the scion of a race which displayed uncommon courage in the Colonial service, was being tried and it was sought to make him a scape-goat for the shortcomings of his superiors and inferiors, Sir John was receiving the compliments, in public orders, of his own superior, Gen. Haldimand, to whom the German officers in America have given in their published correspondence and narratives, the highest praise as a professional soldier, and therefore, professionally, a judge of military merit. What is more, as a farther demonstration of the injustice of ordinary history, the severe Governor Clinton was either with van Rensselaer or near at hand, and consequently as much to blame as the latter for the

escape of Sir John. Stone, who wrote at a time when as yet there were plenty of living contemporaries, distinctly says that Gov. Clinton was with Gen. van Rensselaer just before the battle, and remained at Fort Plain while the battle was taking place a few miles distant. Finally, the testimony taken before the court-martial indicates that the Americans were vastly superior in numbers to Sir John's Whites and Indians (if not treble or even quadruple his force), and it was the want, as usual, of true fighting pluck in the Indians, and their abandonment of their white associates, which made the result at all indecisive for the Loyalists. Had the redskins stood their ground some of the militia ought not to have stopped short of Schenectady. All accounts agree that the invaders had been over-worked and over-weighted, foot-sore and fatigued, having performed extraordinary labors and marches; whereas, except as to ordinary expeditiousness, the Americans, quasi-regulars and militia, were fresh and in light marching order, for they were just from home. So much stress has been laid on this fight, because it has been always unfairly told, except before the court-martial which exonerated van Rensselaer. Ordinary human judgment makes the philosopher weep and laugh: weep in sorrow at the fallacy of history, and laugh in bitterness at the follies and prejudices of the uneducated and unreflecting.

Some of the greatest commanders who have ever lived have not escaped the accusation of want of spirit at one time or another. Even Napoleon has been blamed for

not suffering himself to be killed at Waterloo, thus ending his career in a blaze of glory. Malice vented itself in such a charge against the gallant leader who saved the "middle zone" to the Union, and converted the despondency of retreat and defeat into victory. It is a remarkable fact that the majority of people always select two vituperative charges the most repugnant to a man of honor, to hurl at the objects of their dislike, perhaps because they are those to which they themselves are most open—falsehood and poltroonery; forgetting that it is not the business of a commander to throw away a life which does not belong to himself individually but to the general welfare of his troops. Mere "physical courage," as has been well said by a veteran soldier, "is largely a question of nerves." Moral courage is THE God-like quality, the lever which in all ages has moved this world. Moreover it is the cornerstone of progress; and without it brute insensibility to danger would have left the nineteenth century in the same condition as the "Stone Age." A man, bred as Sir John had been, who had the courage to give up everything for principle, and with less than a modern battalion of whites plunge again and again into the territory of his enemies, bristling with forts and stockaded posts, who could put in the field forty-five regiments (?), of which seventeen were in Albany and five in Tryon counties—the actual scenes of conflict—besides distinct corps of State levies raised for the protection of the frontiers—in which every other man was his deadly foe, and the majority capital marksmen, that could shoot off a squirrel's head at a hundred yards—

such a man must have had a very large amount of the hero in his composition. Americans would have been only too willing to crown him with this halo, if he had fought on their side instead of fighting so desperately against them.

In conclusion, readers, your attention is invited for a short space to a few additional considerations. Sir William Johnson was the son of his own deeds and the creature of the bounty of his sovereign. He owed nothing to the people. They had not added either to his influence, affluence, position or power. If this was true of the father as a beneficiary of the Crown, how much more so of the son. The people undertook to deprive the latter of that which they had neither bestowed nor augmented. They injured him in almost every way that a man could be injured; and they made that which was the most commendable in him—his loyalty to a gracious benefactor, his crime, and punished him for that which they should have honored. They struck; and he had both the spirit, the power, and the opportunity to strike back. His retaliation may not have been consistent with the literal admonition of the Gospel, but there was nothing in it inconsistent with the ordinary temper of humanity and manliness.

Some disciples of "*Indifferentism*" have argued that Sir John should have remained neutral, like Lord Fairfax, and retained his popularity and saved his property by the sacrifice of his principles. These forget the severe judgment of the ancient Greek philosopher and lawgiver on such as they.

"It was a remarkable law of Solon, that any person who, in the commotions of the Republic, remained neuter, or an INDIFFERENT spectator of the contending parties, should be condemned to perpetual banishment."

The people of this era have no conception of the fearful significance of Loyalty, one hundred years since. Loyalty, then, was almost paramount to religion; next after a man's duty to his God was his allegiance to his prince. "*Noblesse oblige*" has been blazoned as the highest commendation of the otherwise vicious aristocracy of France. It is charged that when the perishing Bourbon dynasty was in direst need of defenders it discovered them "neither in its titled nobility nor in its native soldiers," but in mercenaries. Whereas, in America, George III. found daring champions in the best citizens of the land, and foremost in the front rank of these stood Sir John Johnson. Hume, who is anything but an imaginative or enthusiastic writer, couples LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM together; and with his philosophical words this vindication of Sir John Johnson is committed to the calm and unprejudiced judgment of readers:

"The most inviolable attachment to the laws of our country is, everywhere acknowledged a capital virtue; and where the people are not so happy as to have any legislature but a SINGLE PERSON, THE STRICTEST LOYALTY IS, IN THAT CASE, THE TRUEST PATRIOTISM."

"Hopes have precarious life;
They are oft blighted, withered, snapt sheer off:
But FAITHFULNESS can feed on SUFFERING,
And knows no disappointment."

CONSIDERATIONS

BEARING UPON THE VIOLATION—SO-STYLED—OF A PAROLE (?)
SAID TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY SIR JOHN JOHNSON, BART.

(See text, page xl, *supra*.)

The plan on which turns the whole right or wrong of the parole story, as detailed in a letter to General Sullivan, 14th March, 1776, frequently cited, emphasizes the directions to Dayton, that care must be taken to prevent Sir John Johnson from being apprised of the real design of his opponents. Fortunately the communication despatched, although cunningly conceived, was not sufficiently ingenious to conceal the latent intention. As van der Does, in Leyden, wrote to Valdez, the Spanish general besieging, and trying to delude him, its governor, into surrendering the town: "The fowler plays sweet notes on his pipe when he spreads his net for the bird"—even so the Loyalist leader was not deceived by the specious words of his enemies, seeking to enmesh him.

Lossing, who had all the original papers in his hands, admits (II., 69) a *snare*: "The wily baronet was not to be caught in the snare laid for him by Schuyler."—J. W. de P.'s "Sir John Johnson's Address," Appendix I., page vi., col. 1, 2.

Dr. F. H. Roof, of Rhinebeck, forwarded, 19th June, 1880, to the writer, a copy of a letter, which is pretty good proof that, in the whole of the paroling business, the relative positions of the parties in antagonism, and the circumstances connected therewith, are not only misunderstood, but have been consistently misrepresented. To clear this up is impossible, because the documentary testimony on the loyal side

has almost entirely perished or disappeared. This letter was the property of Henry Loucks, a brother-in-law of Mr. Roof's father (formerly a law partner of Abraham van Vechten) both now deceased. Upon the back of the original was the following note by Mr. Loucks: "Sir John Johnson's granddaughter, 1777, Helen McDonald; presented me by a granddaughter of Jellis Fonda, Oct, 7, 1840. H. L." The date must refer to that of the letter, because Sir John could not have had a granddaughter capable of writing any letter in 1777; but one of his granddaughters did marry a Colonel McDonald, and the latter may have been a descendant, a relative, or a connection of the McDonell, or *McDonald*, who was chief of the Highlanders dependent upon Sir John, who surrendered their arms 20th January (?), 1776, and was one of the six hostages for the rest, seized at that time.

COPY OF LETTER.—"SIR: Some time ago I wrote you a letter, much to this purpose, concerning the Inhabitants of this Bush being made prisoners. There was no such thing then in agitation as you was pleased to observe in your letter to me this morning. Mr. Billie Laird came amongst the people to give them warning to go in to sign and swear. To this they will never consent, being already prisoners of General Schuyler. His Excellency was pleased by your proclamation, directing every one of them *to return to their farms, and that they should be no more troubled nor molested during the war. To this they agreed, and have not done anything against the country, nor intend to, if let alone. If not, they will lose their lives before being taken prisoners* AGAIN. They begged the favour of me to write to Major Fonda and the gentlemen of the committee to this purpose. They blame neither the one nor the other of you gentlemen, but those ill-natured fellows amongst them that get up an excitement about nothing, in order to ingratiate themselves in your favour. They were of very great hurt to your cause since May last, through violence and ignorance. I do not know what the consequences would have been to them long ago, if not prevented. *Only think what daily provocation does.*

"Jenny joins me in compliments to Mrs. Fonda.

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"CALLACHIE, 15th March, 1777.

"HELEN McDONELL."

"Major JELLIS FONDA, at Caughnawaga."

In this connection nothing can be more pertinent than the remarks of "our greatest and our best," General GEORGE H. THOMAS, at the breaking out of the "Slaveholders' Rebellion," in 1861-2: "In a discussion of the causes given for their action by some officers who de-

sented the Government at the beginning of the Rebellion, I (a friend of Thomas) ventured the assertion that, perhaps, some of them at distant posts had acted ignorantly; that I had been informed that some of them had been imposed upon by friends and relatives, and led to believe that there was to be a peaceable dissolution of the Union; that there would be no actual government for the whole country, and by resigning their commissions they were only taking the necessary steps towards returning to the allegiance of their respective States. He replied, 'That this was but a poor excuse; he could not believe officers of the army were so ignorant of their own form of government as to suppose such proceedings could occur; and as they had *sworn allegiance to the Government, they were bound to adhere to it, and would have done so if they had been so inclined.*' He said, 'there was no excuse whatever in a United States officer claiming the right of secession, and the only excuse for their deserting the Government was, what none of them admitted, having engaged in a rebellion against tyranny, because the tyranny did not exist, and they well knew it.' I then asked him; 'Supposing such a state of affairs existed, that arrangements were being made for a peaceable dissolution by the Government, the North from the South, and that it was in progress, what would you have done?' He promptly replied: 'That is not a supposable case; the Government cannot dissolve itself; it is the creature of the people, and until they had agreed by their votes—that is, the votes of the *whole* country, not a portion of it—to dissolve it, and it was accomplished in accordance therewith, the Government to which they had sworn allegiance remained, and as long as it did exist I should have adhered to it.'

There is in this extract a clear recognition of the obligation of his oath to support the Government, and at this very point the better class of Southern officers who joined the Rebellion, and who perhaps took this step with reluctance, made direct issue with Thomas. They claimed that their oath of office was obligatory only while they held office, and that all obligation ceased with resignation, especially when their resignations were accepted. This assumption rests upon the supposed fact that supreme allegiance is due to a single State rather than to the Union of the States or nation represented by the General Government. The subtle logic, by which the doctrine of State Rights was carried to the complete negation of the national unity, or autonomy, had no force with General Thomas, although he greatly regretted the necessity of choosing between the General Government and his own State, in allegiance with other Southern States. And although he had not entertained Northern views of the institution of Slavery, he did not hesitate to maintain his allegiance to the National Government; and, in contrast

with those who claimed their freedom from the obligation of their oath of allegiance, when their resignations had been accepted, carrying this freedom to the extreme sequence, that they could legitimately array themselves in war against the Government that had just freed them. Thomas believed that there was a moral and legal obligation that forbade resignation, with a view to take up arms against the Government. And from this point of view he condemned the national authorities for accepting the resignation of officers, when aware that it was their intention to join the Rebellion as soon as they were in this way freed from the obligation of their oath of allegiance. In his view, resignation did not give them freedom to take up arms against the General Government, and, resting upon this ground, he did not wait till his own State had seceded to make up his own decision, but made it in entire independence of her probable action in the national crisis."—Chaplain Thomas B. Van Horne's "Life of Gen. George H. Thomas," pp. 26, 27.





Introduction to the Battle of Oriskany.

“Against STUPIDITY the gods are powerless.”—GOETHE.

“ When through dense woods primeval bower'd
A perfect hail of bullets shower'd,
Where bold Thayendanega tower'd—
Good old Harkheimer prov'd no coward,
Commanding at Oriskany !

“ True to his Teuton lineage,
Foremost amidst the battle's rage,
As bold in fight, in council sage,
Most glorious as he quit the stage
Of life, by the Oriskany !

“ Although he felt the mortal wound,
Though fell in swathes his soldiers 'round,
Propp'd 'gainst his saddle, on the ground,
He calmly smok'd, gave counsel sound,
'Mid war-whirl at Oriskany !

“ War never fiercer sight has seen
Than when Sir Johnson's cohort green
Charged on the Mohawk rangers keen ;
The sole such strife *Almanza* 'd been
As that on the Oriskany !

“ New York's bold yeomen, Watts, at head,
Breasted meet foes—New Yorkers bred—
There, eye to eye, they fought, stabb'd, bled ;
Bosom to bosom strove, fell dead
In ambush of Oriskany !

"Alone can Berwick's shudder tell
 What fury rul'd that moment fell,
 When Frenchman's steel hiss'd Frenchman's knell;
 Horrent made the sole parallel
 To battle of Oriskany!

"Teeth with like frantic fury set,
 There Frank died on Frank's bayonet—
 Here neighbor death from neighbor met,—
 With kindred blood both fields were wet,
 Almanza* and Oriskany!

"And, ceas'd the storm whose rage had vied,
 With ruthless shock of fratricide,
 There lay the Mohawk Valley's pride
 Just as they fought, stark, side by side,
 Along the red Oriskany!

"Though neither force could triumph claim
 In war's dread, dazzling, desp'rate game,
 Enkindled there, the smould'ring flame
 Of Freedom blazed, to make thy name
 All glorious, Oriskany!"

"ANCHOR" (J. W. de P.), in Chas. G. Jones' *Military Gazette*, Nov., 1860.

These verses were exquisitely translated into German, and printed in Kapp's "*Einwanderung*," I., 389, by Miss Marie Blöde.

* The battle of *Almanza*, fought on the 25th April, 1707, was remarkable in two respects—first, for its *result*, in that it assured the crown of Spain to Philip V.; second for a bloody *episode*, which it is said the *Duke of Berwick*, bigoted and pitiless as he always proved himself to be, could never recall without a shudder of horror. In the midst of that conflict, *John Cavalier*, the expatriated French Protestant hero, with his battalion of fellow-exiles, the *Camisards*, or Huguenots of Languedoc, found themselves opposed to a regiment of French Roman Catholics, who it is supposed had been chiefly instrumental in applying the atrocities of the *Dragonnades* against their native Protestant brethren. No sooner had they recognized each other, than the two corps, without exchanging a shot, rushed to the attack with the bayonet, and engaged in such a mutual, inveterate slaughter that, according to the testimony of Marshal, the Duke of Berwick, not over three hundred survived of both corps. As the *Camisards* constituted a battalion of 700 men, and the Roman Catholics a full regiment of at least 1000 effectives, only one out of every six combatants survived the merciless conflict. Such a slaughter is almost unparalleled in history.

England has never been prolific in great, nay in even moderately great generals, however exuberant in crops of the bravest soldiers. Since Marlborough, who culminated at Hochstedt or Blenheim, 13th August, 1704—178 years ago—there have been only three who stand forth as remarkable leaders—Wolfe, Clive and Wellington. Clive was destined to the command against the revolted colonies, and if he had displayed in America the tremendous power, influence and fortune he exerted in Hindostan, the history of the American Revolution would have had a different termination. The name of Sir William Johnson, “a heaven-born general,” has been associated with that of Lord Clive by more than one English writer of distinction, and particularly by one of Great Britain’s best military analysts, Sir Edward Cust. Lord Clive perished by suicide, 22d Nov., 1774, and Sir William Johnson, it is insinuated, *but falsely*, in the same manner on 11th July, 1774. He died of chronic, malignant dysentery.

American affairs were desperate enough in 1776 and 1777, in 1780, and even in 1781, to need only a feather’s weight in the scale to sink it into ruin. A breath of genius would have done this, but there was no one to breathe it. Cornwallis might have done so had he occupied an independent position like Marlborough, Wolfe, Clive or Wellington, and have added his name to these illustrious four.

Unfortunately for England, and luckily for the United States, he was subordinate to successive superiors, who were his inferiors in everything but rank. Gage was

weak and vacillating ; Howe indolent and self-indulgent ; Burgoyne vain, self-seeking and over-confident ; Clinton nervous and afraid of responsibility. Carleton and Cornwallis are the only two of high rank that relieve the picture. There were able men in lower grades, but they exercised only restricted influence. The American Revolution was a political quarrel between parties in England. It was fought out with so much bitterness that, to injure the Tories, the Whigs were willing to sacrifice the worth, wealth and welfare of the empire. Without this wordy fight in Parliament, the bloody conflict in America would not have lasted six months. It was the story of Hannibal over again. The violence of faction in the senate house of Carthage, at home, sacrificed the hero who was breaking down, abroad, the deadly enemy of his country, and the oligarchs in Africa carried this spite so far that, with the fall of the victimized hero, fell the commonwealth which he sustained. No wonder he burst out into a sardonic fit of laughter when he saw the oligarchs, abject, broken-hearted, hopeless, weeping the bitterest tears on feeling the ruin they had caused when they beheld their own riches the prey of Roman flames. The Loyalists of America were representatives of the spirit of the Barcidæ—faint imitations of the genius, but strong representatives of the feeling which lay beneath it. Like Hannibal they expiated their patriotism and loyalty—all in exile, some in poverty, many on foreign fields of battle, others in prison, not for crime but debt, when rebels were revelling in their sequestered possessions—and *all* MARTYRS; for there can

be no martyrdom without a full appreciation of the cause—a complete perception of the result and a perfect willingness to suffer for principle.

Tradition can scarcely be deemed worthy of satisfying legitimate importance, or perhaps more properly speaking of serious consideration, by a historian, unless supported or corroborated by other irrefutable testimony, less susceptible of the influence of time and the weakness of the human structure. Even physical proofs, if they continue to subsist, are only trustworthy as to locality or results, but not as to the “why” and the “when,” which, after all, to the philosopher, are of the most consequence. This remark as to the little weight that can be attached to human recollections, transmitted from generation to generation, is particularly applicable to the Johnson family in the State of New York and especially respecting Sir John Johnson, the last of them who figured in connection with the affairs of the Mohawk Valley. If ever a mortal has been the victim of bigotted prejudice and continuous misrepresentation, he is the man. The English translator of von Clausewitz’s “Campaign in Russia,” in 1812, remarks in regard to the action of the Prussian General York, on which hinged the fate of Napoleon, that, whether the Prussian general should be regarded as a traitor or a hero, was not dependent on what he risked or did, but upon subsequent developments based thereupon. The same doubt hangs over the memory of Wallenstein. That, the last, never can be cleared up, although with time York has received full justice. Sir

John Johnson belongs to the category of Wallenstein, because he failed, justifying the maxim—"to appear absolutely able a man must always be successful." Human success, as a rule, is the counterfeit of merit in the majority of cases; as regards the recipient of the reward, a sham. It is often the greatest of impostors. It has certainly been so in American history. And, yet, it is the fallacy which is always accepted by the masses—who never reason—as the reality.

One of the closest students of American history, considers that the two men greatest in themselves who exerted an influence on the colonies were Sir William Pepperell, Captor of Louisburg, and Sir William Johnson, "the Indian Tamer." In regard to the latter, public opinion has been led astray. It believes that he was little better than an adventurer, who owed his start in life to the accidental patronage of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren. For Sir William Pepperell the best informed would substitute Hon. James de Lancey, who for so many years was Lieutenant and acting Governor of the Province of New York. Of him the great Pitt remarked, "Had James de Lancey lived in England, he would have been one of the first men in the kingdom."

William, afterwards Sir William Johnson, Bart., was more directly influential in the arrest which involved the overthrow of the French power in America than any other individual; and that this does not appear in popular history is due to the local antagonisms, prejudices, and interests, which have obscured all the narratives of the

colonies or provinces that affected more or less closely the arrogant claims of New England. This is owing to the principle which is most evident in war, that while the purely defensive, or passive, is scarcely ever, if ever, successful, the offensive or aggressive, with any proportional power, is almost always so. Example, Alexander of Macedon. The offensive-defensive is likewise most advisable—witness the triumph of “Frederic II. of Prussia, the greatest man who was ever born a king.”

When, nearly half a century ago, the writer first had his attention directed to American history, he placed great faith in standard works, accepted by older men, as unquestionable authority. As he investigated more closely this faith became gradually chilled and in many cases killed. Then he came to appreciate the force of the Latin proverb, “Hear the other side.” A sterner scrutiny and harsher judgment was now applied to every book, nor were apparent facts alone subjected to microscopic examination. Attention was directed to the motives which imperceptibly or visibly guided the pens or influenced the periods of our most popular and polished writers. With St. Paul he perceived that those “who seemed to be pillars” were not stone or marble but deceptions, stucco or frailer material. All this led to the conviction that no one can prepare a satisfactory narrative, especially of a battle, who does not go back to original documents on both sides, or at least to the works in which they have been reproduced; who has not reflected upon the *animus* which did or might actuate the authors of such papers; who has not

weighed report against report; and then, and only then, after a careful study of the character of the actors and consideration of time, place, and circumstances, has formed an opinion for himself. His first story of Oriskany was written in 1859; his second in 1869; his third in 1878; his fourth in 1880. In all these he continued to pin faith to the American side of the story. Subsequently he determined to investigate with equal care the Loyal story and British side, pure and simple; this, with the discovery of Sir John Johnson's "Orderly Book," has brought with it a feeling that, although the moral effect of the battle, particularly upon the Indians, was to a great extent decisive, the physical circumstances were not so creditable. It was a sacrifice rather than a conflict; an immolation, a holocaust which Heaven accepted, as the Great Ruler ever accepts, not according to what is actually given, but according as man purposeth in his heart to give. "For if there be first a willing mind, *it is* accepted according to that a man hath, *and* not according to that he hath not." As it was admirably put in his Centennial, by the Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, "*Herkimer's glory is that out of such a slaughter he snatched the substance.*" This is a sentence will live, for it is the concrete truth in a very few admirable words.

In comparing Oriskany to Thermopylæ, there is no intention to contrast the physical circumstances. In both cases, however, a heroic leader offered himself for the defence of his country and lost his life in consequence. In both cases a portion of the troops did their duty and

another portion failed, ingloriously, to do so. Eventually, the Greeks, like the Mohawkers, were surrounded and few escaped death, wounds or captivity. A pass, whether across a marsh, or through a wood, or among mountains, any similar locality, in fact, is in a military sense a "defile." The moral similitudes between the 6th July, B. C. 480, and 6th August, A. D. 1777, resemble each other in many respects. Leonidas fell to save Attica and Athens; Herkimer to relieve Fort Stanwix, and thus preserve his native valley.

A better parallel to certain phases of Oriskany is the battle of Thrasimene, B. C. 217. In the latter case the Gauls, like the Indians in 1777, rushed in too soon, and thus by their precipitation enabled a small portion of the Romans to escape. Another apposite example is the battle of Crevant, 31st July, 1423. The French and their Scotch auxiliaries were besieging Crevant, about one hundred miles southeast of Paris on the right bank of the Yonne, and the English and Burgundians advanced to relieve the place. In this case the result of Oriskany* was reversed under similar circumstances, and the besiegers were almost all slain or captured. During the Austro-Hungarian war Gen. Guyon nearly came to grief in a similar trap during the winter of 1848-9. Dade's massacre

* The fight, disastrous for Bale or Basel city, striving, in 1833, to maintain its ancient privileges or influence over the whole State, was a collision similar in many respects to Oriskany. It led to a rupture between the Past and Present, and ended in a division of the canton into two half-cantons, Bale Ville (city) and Bale Campagne (country) to the advantage of neither.

by Seminole Indians, 28th December, 1835, in Florida, was a miniature of Braddock's overwhelming on the Monongahela, 9th July, 1755. The glory of this success belongs to Langlade, the famous French leader of Indians, who prepared a similar trap for Wolfe on the Montmorenci, in 1759. In the latter the great English leader was only saved by the supercilious self-sufficiency of the French regular superior officers, who rejected the proposition of the partisan.

It is somewhat curious that in the same way that the Provincials seemed to have better strategical as well as grand-tactical views than professionals, George III. was wiser in his views than his ministers and generals. He suggested a route for Burgoyne which, had fortune favored instead of thwarting it, would have been far more advantageous and would have enabled Burgoyne to reach his objective, Albany, without doubt. The movement on this point, in 1777, was simply reversing the plan which was triumphant against Canada in 1759. Alas for England, there was no Pitt at the head of military and colonial affairs in 1777, only a St. Germaine; no Wolfe, but a Burgoyne; no Amherst, but a Howe and then a Clinton; no Prideaux or Sir William Johnson, but a St. Leger. Sir William Johnson's son might have rivalled his father's fortune had opportunity favored or circumstances permitted. Like that of 1759, the operations of 1777 were not simple, but complex, triple. In 1759, Quebec was the first objective. Against it Wolfe ascended the St. Lawrence, Amherst ascended the Hudson and descended Lake

Champlain, and Prideaux, afterwards Johnson, ascended the Mohawk and captured Niagara. In 1777, Burgoyne ascended Lake Champlain and descended the Hudson; St. Leger ascended the St. Lawrence and descended the Mohawk; and Howe (afterwards Clinton) was to ascend the Hudson. The Burgoyne of 1777, would have reached his goal had he been the Burgoyne of 1762, and estimated, as then, the value of time, and remembered the orders of his great master in the art of war, Count de la Lippe, through which he avoided, in 1762, a catastrophe similar to that of Saratoga. Everything contributed to insure the Burgoyne fiasco. Where Carleton would have succeeded Burgoyne must have failed. The most important function was entrusted to St. Leger with the most inadequate means. St. Leger was greatly to blame because he did not listen to Sir John Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, and because he underestimated the adversaries he had to encounter and the obstacles he had to overcome. The greatest culprit, however, was Sir William Howe, "the most indolent of mortals," apathy itself, who, with ordinary judgment, energy, and even a spirit of lukewarm *camaraderie*, could have even remedied the shortcomings of Burgoyne and the blunders of St. Leger. If Howe had so manœuvred in the Jerseys as to occupy the attention of Washington, simply demonstrating in his front with half his army, which half was fully equal to the whole force under Washington at this time, he could have dispatched *at least* 7000 men up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne. If Burgoyne had attended to his busi-

ness thoroughly, and acted with interprise and audacity, and if St. Leger had had from 1500 to 2000 whites, instead of about 400, the history of this continent would have been totally different. All however hinged, first on Howe's paralyzing Washington, second on St. Leger's cleaning out the Mohawk Valley. The campaign of 1777, as regards the British, was a glaring part of a tissue of blunders. The colonies were at their mercy if they had used the forces, moral and physical, under their control with any judgment—simple common sense. The Duke de Lauzun and other competent military judges confirm these views.

It is ridiculous, however, in a mere military point of view, to claim that all the advantages in this contest were in favor of the British. They might have been, had they utilized the Loyalists, respected them, shown energy and activity, and forgotten professional conceit and inattention in zeal for the crown and patriotic desire to maintain and extend the glory of the imperial dominion. The British, like Napoleon in Russia, were conquered by space. Paradox as it may seem to be, discipline, rigid martinet regulation, may actually, under some conditions, become a disadvantage. Marksmen with some idea of drill may be better than strictly line regulars in a new, a wooded, and a rough or mountainous country. The range of heights extending from northeast to southwest across New Jersey, the broken elevations and extensive marshes around Morristown, as a central citadel, and the spur shot out into the plain opposite the elbow of the

Raritan, between Bound Brook and Middle Brook, with its gaps for sally-ports, saved the American cause. Numbers and *aim* won the first fight at Hoosic (*mis-named* Bennington), and then, when indiscipline, dissolved in plundering, needed the support of discipline, in the second fight, Warner came in with his Continentals or regulars. Man for man, the colonists were as good as the best British, and, being *willing*, better than the Germans *un-willing* combatants. Why not? They were all the same race, and the world has yet to see its equal as enduring and courageous soldiers.

And here it is pertinent to the occasion to remark, that the declamation and shrieks of the Americans at the employment of the Indians by the British is the sheerest hypocrisy. They would have enlisted the tomahawk and scalping-knife without the slightest repugnance if they could have bid as high as the crown, or would have paid cash down as honestly. If the assistance of the savages was nefarious, the Americans would not have objected to its utilization on that account, if they could have contracted for, coerced, cajoled or controlled it. Lucky for the Americans a factious opposition in England and Parliament used the American War as a weapon of offence against the crown, just as the Whigs in America professed loyalty to the King, but opposition, nay bitter animosity, to the Ministry and Parliament. As Gen. C. S. W. wrote (from Innsbruck, 19, 7, 1882), "The English government, like our own, is a government of party; and the consideration of gaining or losing party-capital out-

weighs all others." "Of course the thing [Egypt] was badly managed in many respects." English faction nearly ruined Wellington in Spain and colonial congressional discordances and jealousies very nearly occasioned a worse fate for Washington. Even the liberally praised Chatham, in his hypocritical denunciation of setting the Indian bloodhounds upon the colonists, was reproved or shewn up by General, Lord Amherst, and rebuked by the production of his orders, when Prime Minister, for letting them loose upon the French. The Americans courted the assistance of the Indians with assiduity, but the latter foresaw the fate which would attend the success of the colonists, as their chiefs in council foretold, and remained faithful to the old country, which had always protected and fostered them and treated them with justice and forbearance.

This fact—just referred to—in connection with the employment of Indians, which is too little known, is apposite to the support of the American Revolution in Parliament. The Earl of Chatham (Pitt) denounced in the House of Lords the employment of the wild Indians in conjunction with the British troops, although he himself, nineteen years before, had used Indians in the same manner against the French and the Canadians. In advocating his views he waxed still more loud and indignant, "pouring out fresh volumes of words." "Ministers then offered to produce, from the depository of papers in the Secretary's office, documents written by himself to prove the charge. The dispute grew still hotter; and at length

Lord Amherst, Chatham's general, who had commanded our [the British] troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages, which he would not have done *without express orders from government at home*. He even offered to produce the orders, if his majesty would permit him." * * * *

Lord Denbigh rather happily called Chatham "The great oracle with the short memory," and stated that "Chatham, when in office under George II., had guided and directed everything relating to the war; had monopolized functions which did not belong to him, and had been excessively jealous of any interference by others, whether boards or ministers."

The Lords who supported Chatham now seemed inclined to lay the question by, as far as it concerned his veracity or correctness of memory. According to Lord Brougham, when Lord Bute heard what had passed on this occasion in the House of Lords, and that Chatham had denied his having employed the red men (or Indians), he exclaimed with astonishment, "Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have his letter still by me, singing *Io Pœans* of the advantages we were to gain through our Indian allies." As a political question, Whigs against Tories, the cause of the Colonies was fought with as much virulence with words, in Parliament, as, with weapons, in America, and in many cases with just as much principle.

Let the consideration, however, confine itself to Oris-

kany. It was the turning point of the Burgoyne campaign and of the American Revolution. Within the scope of the considerations before dwelt upon, it was the Thermopylæ of the Colonies.

In regard to the numbers at Oriskany there are such discrepancies in the various accounts that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. The Americans exaggerate the English numbers to excuse Harkheimer's coming short of decided success, and to exalt the determination of the garrison. How many the latter comprised is by no means certain. Stedman (4to, I., 334) says 750 men, but Gen. Carrington, U. S. A., one of the most careful of investigators, uses language (323) that would justify the belief that it consisted of 950 men. If only 750 "under cover" it ought still to have been a full match for the whole heterogeneous corps that St. Leger brought against it. The "Burgoyne scare" was upon the whole country and the garrison of Fort Stanwix felt the effects of it.

Prior to the discovery of Johnson's Orderly Book, it has always been stated that St. Leger had 675 white troops with him: the Orderly Book, however, distinctly shows that only 500 rations were issued. This demonstrates conclusively that the white troops, at most, could not have exceeded that number. The Americans, to swell the numbers of British and Loyal Provincials under Col. Ferguson, encountered at King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780, based their calculations on the Ration Returns found in the captured camp.

The same rule of judgment in justice should apply to the

force under St. Leger. The difference between 400 and 675 can be easily accounted for in various ways, even if exact proof did not exist to establish the smaller number. Experts, including Napoleon, consider that an army of 100,000 on paper rarely can put 80,000 effectives in the field. In a new country subject to local fevers, when men are called upon to discharge the severest labors at the hottest period of the year, this ratio would, most likely, be greatly increased. Consequently, if St. Leger had 675 at Lachine, near Montreal, it would not be extraordinary if he left a number of invalids behind, besides those, especially individuals foreign to the country and service, who dropped out on the road. There is no mention in this Orderly Book of a list of sick or casualties, and yet it is impossible but that there must have been both. A highly educated pedant argued that the Romans had no Medical Department, because Cæsar does not mention one in his Commentaries. His reasonings were completely demolished by the observation that, on the same plea, Cæsar had no diseases in his camp, because he does not allude to them in any of the accounts of his campaigns, which is what the scholars call an *argumentum ad absurdum*.

The statement attributed to St. Leger, that he had 675 white troops, he never made. It is a deduction of their own by American writers, to make good their case. Any reader desirous of investigating this can easily refer to the reports made by St. Leger to Burgoyne and also to Carleton. These figures are not in either: Where then are these numbers to be found? In a letter from Lord

George Germain to General Carleton, 26th March, 1777, he says :

"From the King's knowledge of the great preparations made by you last year to secure the command of the lakes, and your attention to this part of the service during the winter, his Majesty is led to expect that everything will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the lakes by the time you and he shall have adjusted the plan of the expedition.

"It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger,

Detachment from the 8th Regiment, . . .	100
Detachment from the 34th Regiment, . . .	100
Sir John Johnson's Regiment of New York, . . .	133
Hanau Chasseurs,	342
	— 675

"Together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians ; and after having furnished him with proper artillery, stores, provisions, and every other necessary article for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk River to Albany, and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe."

Mark this : not Burgoyne, but Sir William Howe, who was expected to co-operate, but did not, partly because through the indolence of his superior, Lord St. Germain, he did not receive his orders on time.

On the 28th February, one month previous, Burgoyne considers that even a smaller force than the 675 assigned by St. Leger would be sufficient. He only mentions 233 white troops. These are his exact words :

"Not, to argue from probability, is so much force necessary for this diversion this year, as was required for the last ; because we then knew that General Schuyler, with a thousand men, was fortified upon the Mohawk. When the different situations of things are considered, viz., the progress of General Howe, the early invasion from

Canada, the threatening of the Connecticut from Rhode Island, &c., it is not to be imagined that any detachment of such force as that of Schuyler can be supplied by the enemy for the Mohawk. I would not therefore propose it of more (and I have great diffidence whether so much can be prudently afforded) than Sir John Johnson's corps, an hundred British from the Second Brigade, and an hundred more from the 8th Regiment, with four pieces of the lightest artillery, and a body of savages; Sir John Johnson to be with a detachment in person, and an able field officer to command it. I should wish Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger for that employment."

How many men, then, did St. Leger have? Stedman states he had "a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to between 700 and 800 men." Carrington calls it a "composite army of regulars, Hessian-chasseurs, Royal-greens, Canadians, axemen, and non-combatants, who, as well as the Indians, proved an ultimate incumbrance and curse to the expedition." St. Leger did not have 342 Hanau-chasseurs, nor anything like it. This is now known to be an error; he had only one company. Why? Because only one company had arrived when he started. It was commanded by a 1st Lieutenant, Jacob Hilderbrand. There could be no mistake here, because Germans are the most methodical people, and the journals of many of their officers exist, which were written with no idea of their ever seeing the light in print, with no intent to deceive or to influence public opinion. What is more, a company at that time ranged from 50 to 80; in the English Guards, always kept full, 80 is the figure (1788); 50 to 120, number never fixed (James, 1810, Hoyt, 1811). Had more than a company been sent, a higher officer than a 1st Lieutenant would have been placed in command. Sir

John's regiment, or battalion, only numbered 133. The great mistake is the item generally quoted, 342, which should be under 50. If people would read carefully they would avoid many serious errors which serve to feed and stimulate popular vanity. Col. Claus corroborates von Eelking. "And here [at Buck's Island] the Brig'r had still an opportunity and time for sending for a better train of artillery, *and wait for the junction of the* [Hesse-Hanau] *Chasseurs, which must have secured us success*, as every one will allow." Again below Claus expressly mentions "*a COMPANY of Chasseurs* lately arrived." Can language be clearer and more unmistakable. The *proper*, or real, not the *intended*, or ideal, enumeration would give St. Leger about 380 organized troops, besides Rangers. Here again people are led into a serious error because they desire so to be. Butler, and other officers belonging to the Rangers, did not have regular white commands at Oriskany, but, *as officers*, were distributed among the Indians to steady them. This was according to French military usage; officers, in France, at this time, were often multiplied in certain regiments to insure solidity by example and influence. Such a course was much more a necessity among undisciplined savages. When Butler got back to Quebec he could only collect or muster fifty out of all he had had or had. There was, it is true, quite a numerous staff of Whites serving with the Indians. The discovery of the "Orderly Book" should settle the matter. The number of rations issued would not have been falsified. This establishes the fact that there must have

been considerably less than 500 to receive them, since, before rations were commuted, officers were entitled to more than one, especially when they had servants to feed, and in those days no commissioned officer took the field without one or more servants. Colonel Claus, Deputy, Acting Superintendent of the Indians, is very explicit in his letter to Secretary Knox. He blames St. Leger for miscalculating the force and efficiency of the enemy and for not taking with him more troops and more powerful artillery when he could have had a full sufficiency of both.* Undoubtedly there were detachments from the 8th (Major, afterwards Colonel, A. S. de Peyster's Regiment) and 34th (St. Leger's own) Regiments, B. A. of 100 each; Sir John Johnson's Royal-greens, 133; and a company of Chasseurs or Riflemen lately arrived in Canada, from Germany, which exactly tallies with von Eelking's published

* Col. Claus, in his letter of the 16th October, 1777, to Secretary Knox, shows that St. Leger himself alone was to blame for not having a sufficiency of artillery of the proper calibre in his expedition against Fort Stanwix. Col. Claus demonstrates that the Americans expected the siege which followed, and prisoners taken agreed in their story revealing the precautions necessary to insure success. St. Leger concedes that "if they [Americans] intended to defend themselves in that fort [Stanwix], our [British] artillery was not sufficient to take it." "The Brig'r." (St. Leger) had still an opportunity and time of sending for a better train of artillery, and wait for the junction of the Chasseurs (German Jaegers) which must have secured us success, as every one will allow." Here we have a repetition of the self-sufficiency of Braddock and the rejection of the wise counsels of Provincial officers like Washington, in this case represented by Sir John Johnson and Col. Daniel Claus. Oh hackneyed but eternally applicable truism of Euripides: "But the dæmon (directing spirit), when he devises any mischief against a man, first perverts (or stultifies) his friend."

account. These are all the white troops he mentions. The best warriors of the Six Nations were with Burgoyne. The sum total of the savages with St. Leger, according to Col. Daniel Claus, their Superintendent in the absence of Col. Guy Johnson, was 800. Among these were 150 Mississaugues, who were accepted as a Seventh by the Six Nations, in 1746, but the alliance did not long continue. In 1755 the Iroquois Confederation found their Seventh member in the ranks of the enemy. The fact is there never were over Five Nations: even the Sixth, the Tuscaroras, did not stand on an equal footing with the original Five; they were simply tolerated. The Mississaugues were afterwards expelled or dropped from the Confederation. They were a miserable set, "drunk and riotous from the start," unreliable throughout, robbers and murderers of the associated Whites at the end. They came from the neighborhood of Lake Nippissing, to the northward of Georgian Bay. Gordon (American) puts St. Leger's Indians "at 700 warriors, who, with their wives, children, other men and women, made up 1400." Deduct the non-combatants and Indians effectives and this, again, demonstrates the number of white soldiers, rank and file, represented by 500 rations, less than 400. The Americans estimated the King's troops at King's Mountain at 1125, from the number of rations issued that morning according to the returns captured; whereas, it is well-known, according to the Diary of Lieut. Allaire, recovered within two years, that Ferguson had only 906 or 907, of whom over 800 were raw militia.

Why St. Leger took with him so few men and such inadequate cannon is due to the supercilious disregard manifested by professional British officials for the advice of American provincial officers. All the ability he did show was due to the advice of Sir John Johnson (Stone's "Brant," I., 226). Wherever he did so, he was successful, and where he did not, he failed. Had Braddock followed the councils of Colonel Washington, he would have escaped the catastrophe in which he fell, in July, 1755. Had St. Leger listened to the suggestions of Colonel Claus,* he would have succeeded in August, 1777. Could Colonel (acting Brigadier) Ferguson† have divested himself of his

* Col. Daniel Claus, writing to Secretary Knox, 6th November, 1777, shows how the jealousies affecting the superseding of Sir Guy Carleton by Burgoyne were fatal to all the operations of this campaign. Col. Claus, on applying to Sir Guy for orders, was told he had none to give, and that he (Claus) might do as he pleased. This was a curious remark for a chief to make to a subordinate. One fact of interest is disclosed by this letter, viz., that Sir John Johnson, after the failure at Fort Stanwix, was to proceed to join Burgoyne. Why he did not is explained by the concluding sentence of this paragraph of the communication of Col. Claus: "Such friques [freaks?] and jealousies I am afraid have been rather hurtful to our Northern operations last campaign." Verily! (Col. Doc., VIII., 725.)

† Johnson and Claus told St. Leger what he wanted and what to do, and he would not hearken, and did not succeed. De Peyster advised Ferguson as to the character of his opponents, and he was not listened to. Americans knew Americans better than Britishers. The result was, St. Leger failed and Ferguson fell, and with the failure of the one and the fall of the other, it was not the interests of England that suffered only, because the "mother country" came out of the war richer, greater and mightier than ever, but the Loyalists, dupes of their faith in the Home Government, her ability to conquer, and her determination to preserve the rights of all, to punish the guilty and to recompense the faithful.

contempt for the Mountain-men he would not have sacrificed his detachment in October, 1780. Captain (acting Colonel) de Peyster, an American Provincial, his second in command, knew the value of the exquisite picked sharpshooters who were about to assail his superior, in far preponderating numbers. He indicated the course which would have secured immediate relief and eventual success. Ferguson was too fearless or perhaps reckless to listen to his subordinate and the result was a defeat from which the English never recovered at the South. It was exactly the same with the French regulars. They would never pay the slightest heed to the warning of the Canadian provincial leaders, experts in forest-craft and Indian fighting, and thus the Bourbons lost New France. Arrogance in epaulets will never listen to exoteric experience. Members of a caste or hierarchy never pay due attention to the sagacity of intuitive external practical observation which does not exhibit the tonsure or the shoulder-strap. West Point and the regular army pooh! pooh! silently or audibly, everything that is not stamped with their cabalistic emblems or has not joined in the chorus "Benny Havens, Oh!" It has been so since the world began, and brave men will be massacred through "red tape" until the era of common-sense arrives, if it ever does come, to bless mortality—until the descent of the New Jerusalem.

How many men had Harkheimer? Estimates vary from 800 to 1000. There were four regiments of militia, some faithful Oneidas, numerous volunteers of all ranks, a bloom of colonels and officials, and a few mounted men. By how

many was Harkheimer ambuscaded at first? Not near as many as he himself had. St. Leger says that, when Sir John was allowed to plan and trap the Americans, he had not 200 of the King's troops in camp, and he could only spare to the Baronet 80 white men, Rangers and Troops, Sir John's Light Company, the Hanau Riflemen, and Butler with a few Officers and Rangers and the whole corps of the Indians. Here again is incontrovertible circumstantial proof that St. Leger's white troops, present and detached, assembled and scattered between his camp and his depot, or base, at Fort Bull on Wood Creek, did not exceed from 350 to 400 men. After the Indians had flunked and behaved so badly the remainder of the "Royal Greens" were quickstepped into the fight, which would not have added 100 to the force besetting Harkheimer. Consequently the latter could not have been engaged at any time with as many as 200 whites.*

* Mr. Stone (pages *e* and *f*) emphasizes the fact that Stephen Watts is only mentioned as Captain in the "Orderly Book," whereas he was generally known as Major. If he had turned to his own note on the subject of English rank, the discrepancy would at once be explained. It is very unlikely that a man's brother, at a period when the lines of titular distinction were firmly drawn and closely observed, would not have known the rank borne by a brother of whom he was proud, or the name of the corps to which he belonged. Stephen Watts, of Oriskany, was a great favorite in his family, and designated by the most affectionate epithets. What is more, there were a variety of titles of rank in the British Army at that time, two or more of which were often borne by the same individual. A man might be a "line" Captain, very likely "brevet" Major or Lieutenant-Colonel, a "local," "temporary" or "provincial" Colonel or Brigadier, and a militia Major-General. In some cases he did not receive an actual commission, but was delegated in writing to act as such or thus. Sir John Johnson, Bart, held com-

As to how many the Americans lost is another disputed point. St. Leger says in his different reports that not over 200 (out of 800 or 900) escaped. The smallest list of their casualties comprises 160 killed and about 200 wounded and prisoners.

In some respects, Gordon, take him all in all, is the best authority for the American Revolution when in ac-

missions as Major-General of Militia, as Brigadier-General of the Provincial troops (21st October, 1782), and the date of his commission as "Superintendent-General and Inspector-General of the Six Nations of Indians and their Confederates of all the Indian nations inhabiting Our Province of Quebec and the Frontiers," is of March 14th, 1782. In 1777, as Lieutenant-Colonel, he was commanding his regiment.

Here again Mr. Stone is emphatic. "He says that this regiment is nowhere mentioned as the "Royal Greens." They must have been known as such or else they would not have been thus designated in the histories written *nighest* to their period. Any discrepancy here again is susceptible of lucid solution. At first it was determined to uniform the Provincial corps in green, and some were originally clothed in this color, but had it changed; others, exceptions to the rule, retained it to the end of the war. Doubtless for valid reasons, not now known, it was found more advantageous or economical to issue to the Provincials clothes of the same color as those worn by the Regulars, but with distinctive facings. The same process is now going on throughout the whole British Army, and evoking a perfect wail of indignation and grief from corps which had won renown in dresses and facings of exceptional color and cut.

"We" [English], observes the author of "International Vanities" (No. III., Titles), in *Blackwood's Magazine*, "have carried this adoring love of variety of names and titles even into our army, where we have created five kinds of rank altogether *irrespective of military grades properly so called*; our army rank may be [1] Regimental (substantive), [2] Brevet, [3] Local, [4] Temporary, or [5] Honorary, and we might almost add [6] "Relative" to this *absurd* list, which no other nation can understand. In our navy, at all events, rank is rank; there our officers are in reality what they say they are."—*Littell's Living Age*, No. 1556, 4th April, 1874, p. 14.)

cord with Stedman; but unquestionably Mercy Warren—daughter of James Otis—political dissertationist, poetess and historian, who wrote in the light and memories of contemporaries, presents facts not to be found elsewhere: Paul Allen's "American Revolution" is the most philosophical work on this subject. Here let it be remarked, that Mrs. Warren says: "Their danger"—that is the peril of the garrison of Fort Stanwix—"was greatly enhanced by the *misfortune* of General Harkheimer, who had marched for the relief of Fort Stanwix, but with too little precaution. At the head of eight or nine hundred militia, he fell into an ambuscade *consisting mostly of Indians*, and notwithstanding a manly defence, *few of them escaped*. They were surrounded, routed, and butchered, in all the barbarous shapes of savage brutality, after many of them had become their prisoners, and their scalps carried to their British allies, to receive the stipulated price."

The Americans claimed a victory because the survivors were allowed to retire unmolested. This was due to the fact that the Indians had long since "voted themselves out of the fight," and because the white troops, misled by the false reports of "a cowardly Indian," were recalled to the defense of their camp. There is no intention in this little work to detract from the glory of Harkheimer or of his Mohawk men; but the best regular troops have fallen victims to ambuscades from the time of Cæsar, and, doubtless, long before, judging from analogy, down to the present day. "Eternal fitness of things" is the pertinent philosophical sneer of Sardou. Harkheimer against his better

judgment was plunged into a deadly trap and he suffered awfully, as is the universal result under such circumstances.

Personal enemies, with the presumption of ignorance and the bitterness of spite, have presumed to insinuate that Sir John was wanting in courage. Want of physical bravery in a trained officer or soldier is extremely rare. Moral cowardice has very few and God-like exceptions. As one among numerous proofs that Sir John was deficient in neither quality, physical or moral, it is admitted by friend and foe that "Sir John Johnson proposed to follow the blow given to the reinforcement (who were chiefly Mohawk river people) to march down the country with about 200 men, and I intended joining him with a sufficient body of Indians; but the Brigadier (St. Leger) said he could not spare the men, and disapproved of it." It was an admitted fact, however positively it may be denied now, at this day, that the population of this district were stunned by the catastrophe at Oriskany. Is it any wonder? There was the "Mourning of Egypt" throughout the Mohawk valley. Scarcely a house but wept its dead or missing. It was not until the flaming sword of Arnold and the flashing bayonets of his 2000 regulars, volunteers and militia showed themselves that resolution lifted its head and hearts once more pulsated with the throbbing of hope.

"False as a bulletin," has passed into a proverb. Justice would seem to require that, since bulletins or reports are with few exceptions "special pleas," the statements of both parties concerned should be compared in the light of common-sense, and the verdict given accord-

ing to manifest probabilities. It is the popular notion that Willett's sortie* was a magnificent feat of arms. Why was it? If he found no difficulty in spoiling the British camp at his leisure without experiencing any loss either in his sortie or return to the fort—during which time his wagons drove out, looted and carried back into the fort twenty-one loads of spoil; if, again, the garrison derided the besiegers, why did Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell volunteer, leave the fort to seek assistance from Schuyler, more than a hundred miles away, against a foe who, according to American accounts, had shown so little vigor during the sortie and had effected so little subsequently? Such facts are hard to reconcile. Within the fort were 750 (to 950?) white men, Americans, who must be considered as good, man for man, as the four to five hundred Englishmen and Americans opposing them; and no one will pretend that an armed white man behind

* That Willett's sortie was entirely destitute of peril and, throughout, uninterrupted, is clearly shown by the thoroughness with which he ransacked the Provincial and Indian camps, and the complete leisure that was afforded for "looting" them, with only a remote chance of reprisals by the absent enemy. All told, St. Leger had only (?) four hundred and ten Whites. At first he sent out eighty of these, and, perhaps, subsequently, one hundred went to the assistance of Sir John, hurried to the scene of action by the report of a cowardly Indian. This would leave St. Leger at most two hundred and twenty-seven. Deduct the men necessarily on detached duty, and any one who is willing to judge fairly will believe the British commander, that he had only two hundred Whites and no savages with him when Willett made the sortie with two hundred and fifty whites, for the savages had all gone to Oriskany with Brant and Sir John Johnson. The wounded men captured had been brought back from the field of fighting during the earlier stages of the battle.

works is not worth ten times as many savages, especially demoralized Indians. Again, take the plan of the siege, all the works and posts held by St. Leger's whites were on the west of the Mohawk. At all events four to five hundred men could not effect a perfect investment of the fort. For this St. Leger had to depend in a great measure upon his Indians, and nothing shows the untrustworthiness of Indians, either as fighters or scouts, than that Willett and Stockwell could creep out without being observed and get off without being molested. The American story does not hang well together. Common-sense must endorse St. Leger's report, ignoring its magniloquence, which is of no consequence. St. Leger took little account of the troops to whom he was immediately opposed ; but he was afraid of his demoralized savage contingent, whose insubordination had ruined his ambuscade at Oriskany—whose anxiety for fighting, but not their thirst for blood, had been allayed in the fight with Harkheimer ; and thus when a force of whites, at least quadruple his own men of Saxon blood, were advancing under the best American executive, Arnold, to co-operate with the garrison, really much superior to the besiegers of the same race, St. Leger found himself with less than three hundred and fifty valid soldiers opposed to at least two thousand, with his worst and most dangerous enemy in his own camp, the barbarians who had proved almost worthless as fighting factors.





The Ambuscade on the Oriskany

AND

SORTIE FROM FORT STANWIX.

Old Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-seven,
Of Liberty's throes, was the crown and the leaven.
Just a century since, August Sixth, was the day
When Great Britain's control was first stricken away.
Let us sing then the field where the Yeomen of York
Met the Lion and Wolf on their slaughterous stalk ;
When Oriskany's ripples were crimson'd with blood ;
And when strife fratricidal polluted its flood.
Oh, glorious collision, forever renowned !
While America lives should its praises resound,
And stout Harkheimer's name be the theme of the song,
Who with Mohawk's brave sons broke the strength of the strong.

To relief of Fort Stanwix the Yorkers drew nigh,
To succor stout Gansevoort, conquer or die ;
And if unwise the counsels that brought on the fight,
In the battle was shown that their hearts were all right.
If their Chief seemed so prudent that " subs " looked askance,
Still one shout proved their feeling, their courage—" Advance."

Most unfortunate counsel ! The ambush was set,
Leaving one passage *in*, but none *out* of the net,—
Of outlets not one, unless 'twas made by the sword
Through encompassing ranks of the pitiless horde.
Sure never was column so terribly caught,
Nor ever has column more fearlessly fought :—
Thus Harkheimer's Mohawkers made victory theirs,
For St. Leger was foiled in spite of his snares.

The Ambuscade on the Oriskany.

The loud braggarts who 'd taunted Harkheimer so free,
 Ere the fight had begun, were from fight first to flee ;
 While the stalwart old Chief, who a father had proved,
 And his life offer'd up for the cause that he loved,
 'Mid the war-whirl of Death still directed each move,
 'Mid the rain from the clouds and from more fatal groove
 Of the deadlier rifle,—and object assured,
 To him Palm, both as victor and martyr, inured.

Search the annals of War and examine with care
 If a parallel fight can discovered be, there,
 When nine hundred green soldiers beset in a wood
 Their assailants, as numerous, boldly withstood ;
 And while Death sleeted in from environing screens
 Of the forest and underbrush, Indians and "Greens"—
 'Gainst the circle without, took to cover within,
 Formed a circle as deadly—which as it grew thin
 Into still smaller circles then broke, until each
 Presented a *round* that no foeman could breach,
 Neither boldest of savage nor disciplined troops :—
 Thus they fought and they fell in heroical groups—
 But though falling still fighting they wrench'd from the foe
 The great object they marched to attain, and altho'
 The whole vale of the Mohawk was shrouded in woe,
 Fort Stanwix was saved by Oriskany's throe.

No New Birth, no advance in the Progress of Man,
 Has occurred since the tale of his sufferings began,
 Without anguish unspeakable, deluge of blood.
 The Past's buried deep 'neath th' incarnadine flood.
 So, when, at Oriskany, slaughter had done
 Its fell work with the tomahawk, hunting knife, gun ;
 From the earth soak'd with blood, and the whirlwind of fire
 Rose the living's reward and the fallen's desire,
 Independence !

For there, on Oriskany's shore,
 Was wrought out the death-wrestle deciding the war !

If our country is free and its flag, first displayed
 On the ramparts of Stanwix, in glory's arrayed ;
 If the old "Thirteen Colonies" won the renown
 "*Sic semper tyrannis* ;—beat Tyranny down ;
 There, there, at Oriskany, the wedge first was driv'n,
 By which British Invasion was splinter'd and riv'n :
 Though 't Hoosic and "Sar'tog" the work was completed,
 The end was made clear with St. Leger defeated ;
 Nor can boast be disproved, on Oriskany's shore
 Was worked out the grim problem involv'd in the war.

A Poem, by Gen. J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, read at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, 6th August, 1877. Originally published in the "Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York." Albany, 1879.

Burgoyne commenced his march on the 30th of June, ascended Champlain; bridged, corduroyed and cleared twenty-one miles between this Lake and the Hudson, and watered his horses in this river on the 28th of July. From Montreal, St. Leger ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario to Fort Oswego, moved up the Onondaga River eastward, traversed Oneida Lake, and thence proceeded up, and "a cheval," Wood Creek, its feeder. Sixty picked marksmen, under Major Stephen Watts (of New York city) an officer of Sir Johnson's Battalion of Refugees from the Mohawk, known as the "Royal Greens," preceded his march and effectively cleared the way. About this date, St. Leger's advance appeared before Fort Stanwix—the site of the present Rome—on the "great portage" between the headwaters of the Mohawk and the feeders of the streams which unite with the ocean through the Gulf of St. Lawrence. St. Leger was to sweep in and gather supplies for Burgoyne as well as to operate militarily against Gansevoort, in Fort Stanwix.

About the same time the necessary repairs of this Fort were completed, its magazines filled, its garrison augmented under Colonel Gansevoort and Lieutenant-Colonels Marinus Willett and Mellon, and simultaneously the investment was initiated by the advance guard of the British, under Lieutenant Bird, 8th (King's Regiment of) Foot, a famous organization, dating back to 1685.

On the 3d August, 1777, St. Leger arrived before Fort Stanwix and the siege began.

Amid the mistakes and blunders of this campaign, the

greatest was sending "Local" Brigadier-General [Lt. Col.] St. Leger with only 400 to 410 whites (Indians counted as nothing in such an undertaking) to besiege a regular work, held by 750 (or 950 ?) comparatively good troops. Besides this, St. Leger had only a few light pieces, barely sufficient to harass and inefficient to breach or destroy. The carriages of his two six-pounders were rotten, and had to be replaced when actually in battery. Still the "Burgoyne scare" was upon the colony, and nothing had been done as yet to dissipate it, to restore confidence; or to demonstrate how baseless was the terror. ["The Albanians were seized with a panic, the people ran about as if distracted, and sent off their goods and furniture."]

Seeing the importance of relieving Fort Stanwix, Nicholas Harkheimer,* Major-General New York State Militia, a brave man although not much of a soldier, summoned the males of the Mohawk Valley, capable of bearing arms, to meet on the German Flats at Fort Dayton, now bearing his name. He cast his lot in with the revolted colony, although his own brother was a Local Colonel in the British service, and many other relations and connections as well as friends were in the opposite camp. The Militia of the Mohawk rendezvoused at Fort Dayton on the very day (3d August) that St. Leger actually began the siege of Fort Stanwix. The evening of the 5th, Harkheimer was at

* Herckheimer or Herkimer, originally Ergemon or Ergemar, according to "Osgood's Middle States," p. 165, which is most likely to have been the original name. Still, 15th June, 1764, he signed Nicolas Herckmer to an official paper.

"The Mills" at the mouth of Oriskany Creek, some seven to nine miles from Fort Stanwix, and in communication with the garrison, which was to make a sortie in combination with his attack. It is certain that Harkheimer had Indians with him belonging to the "Oneida House," or tribe of the "Six Nations," but how many is nowhere stated. They were of little account. One of them, however, gave the militia the best kind of advice, but as usual was not listened to. This tribe, or a large portion of it, had been detached from the British interest by agents of the Albany Committee. Their decision resulted unfortunately for them; while they accomplished little for the Americans, they brought ruin upon themselves by their defection from the ties of centuries. After the impending battle, the other Five Nations swooped down upon them and nearly destroyed them.

Harkheimer moved on the morning of the 6th August, and immediately fell into an altercation with his four Colonels and other subordinates, and the Tryon County Committee-men. He wanted to display some soldierly caution and send out scouts to reconnoitre and throw out flankers to protect, and thus *feel*, as it were, his way through the woods. For this his officers, with the effrontery of ignorance and the audacity of militiamen, styled him a "Tory," or "a Traitor" and a "Coward," just as the same terms of reproach, with as little justice, were applied to Sir John Johnson. Abuse is the weapon of little minds, and sneers of those deficient in the very qualities which they deny to others they dislike. "Who can defend himself against

a sneer?" The bickering lasted for hours, until Harkheimer, worn out with the persistency of the babblers, gave the order to "March on." His Oneida Indians should have been most useful at this conjuncture. But these traitors to a confederacy "of ages of glory," dreading to meet as foes those whom they had deserted as friends, clung close to the main body, and forgot their usual cunning and woodcraft.

Meanwhile Gen. St. Leger was well aware that Harkheimer was on the way to the assistance of Col. Gansevoort in Fort Stanwix, and listened to the councils of his second in command, Sir John Johnson, and adopted his plan to set a trap for the approaching column. Accordingly St. Leger detached Sir John with a company of Jaegers, or Hesse-Hanau Riflemen, Sir John's own Light Infantry Company, and some Provincials or Rangers with Butler, the total only eighty whites, if St. Leger's Reports are trustworthy, and Brant (Thayendanege) and his Indians. Sir John established an ambush about two miles west of Oriskany. Just such an ambuscade under the partisans, de Beaugen and Langlade, absolutely annihilated Braddock in 1755; just such, again, under the same Langlade—had he been listened to by Regular Superiors—would have ruined Pitt's grand conceptions for the conquest of the Canadas by destroying the forces under Wolfe on the Montmorency, below Quebec, 31st July, 1759.

Harkheimer had to cross a deep, crooked, S-shaped ravine, with a marshy bottom and dribble, spanned by a causeway and bridge of logs. Sir John completely en-

veloped this spot with marksmen, leaving an INLET for the entrance of the Americans, but no OUTLET for their escape. Moreover he placed his best troops—whites—on the road westward where real fighting, if any occurred, had to be done, and to bar all access to the fort.

No plans were ever more judicious, either for a *battue* of game or an ambuscade for troops. Harkheimer's column, without scouts, eclaireurs or flankers, plunged into the ravine and had partly climbed the opposite crest and attained the plateau, when, with his wagon train huddled together in the bottom, the surrounding forest and dense underwood was alive with enemies and alight with the blaze of muskets and rifles, succeeded by yells and war whoops, just as the shattering lightning and the terrifying thunder are almost simultaneous.

Fortunately for the Americans, the Indians anticipated the signal to close in upon them. The savages—violating their promises to restrain their passions, and disregarding the very plan they had agreed to, and which would have filled full their thirst for slaughter—showed themselves a few moments too soon, so that Harkheimer's rear-guard was shut out of the trap instead of *in*, and thus had a chance to fly. They ran, but in many cases they were outrun by the Indians, and suffered almost as severely as their comrades whom they had abandoned. Then a butchery ensued such as had never occurred on this continent, and if the entrapped Americans engaged had not shown the courage of desperation they would all have been sacrificed. But Heaven interposed at the crisis, and sent down a deluging

shower which stopped the slaughter, since, in that day of flint-locks, firing amid torrents of rain was an impossibility. Such "a shower of blessing" saved the English at Montmorenci in 1759, Washington after Brandywine (Gordon ii., 575) in 1778, and perhaps preserved the city of Washington by terminating the fight at Chantilly in 1862. A similar downpour on the 17th June, 1815, certainly had a considerable influence on the Waterloo campaign. Examples may be added *ad nauseam*. This gave the Americans time to recover their breath and senses. Harkheimer, very early in the action, was desperately wounded in the leg by a shot which killed his horse. He caused his saddle to be placed at the foot of a beech tree, and, sitting upon it and propped against the trunk, he lit his pipe, and, while quietly smoking, continued to give orders and make dispositions which saved all who did escape. His orders on this occasion were perhaps the germ of the best subsequent rifle tactics. He behaved like a hero, and perished a martyr to his ideas of Liberty, dying in his own home at "Danube," two miles below Little Falls ("Little Portage"), ten days after the engagement, in consequence of a bungling amputation and subsequent ignorant treatment. The monument he so richly deserved, which was voted both by Congress and his State, to the eternal disgrace of both, has never been erected, and this grand representative yeoman New Yorker has no public memorial of his qualities and services.

When the shower was about over, Sir John Johnson, seeing that the Indians were yielding, sent (?) back to camp

for a reinforcement of his "Royal Greens," under his brother-in-law, Maj. Stephen Watts, or else they were sent them to end the matter more speedily. These, although they disguised themselves like Mohawk Valley Militia, were recognized by the Americans as brothers, relatives, connections or neighbors whom Harkheimer's followers had assisted in driving into exile and poverty. These Loyalists were presumably coming back to regain what they had lost and to punish if victorious. At once to the fury of battle was added the bitterness of mutual hate, spite and vengeance. If the previous fighting had been murderous, the subsequent was horrible. Firearms, as a rule, were thrown aside, the two forces mingled, they grasped each other by the clothes, beards and hair, slashed and stabbed with their hunting knives, thrust with "spears"* and bayo-

* There is a great deal of talk about fighting with "spears" in this battle. "Captain Gardenier slew three with his spear, one after the other." Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell, "each armed with a spear," crept out of the fort to seek relief, &c. That the Indians used spears is very likely, because a weapon of this sort is primitive and in ordinary use among savages. Storming parties, or troops destined to assault a breach, it is true, were furnished with something resembling "boarding pikes," peculiar to the Navy. That the English and American troops or Militia employed such a weapon is ridiculous. These "spears" were *Espontons*, which were the badges of military rank. "To trail a half pike" was a term once recognised as equivalent to holding a commission. As late as 1811 "the Militia Law of the United States required that the commissioned officers shall severally be armed with a sword or hanger and esponton." The latter was a short pike, about eight feet in length. Colonels carried them, just as in the previous century sergeants bore halberts. "To bring a man to the halberts" expressed the idea of the infliction of corporal punishment. This explains how Colonel Willett and Captain Gardenier and Lieutenant Stockwell came to be furnished,

nets, and were found in pairs locked in the embrace of hatred and death.

There is now no longer the slightest doubt that Sir John Johnson commanded the British Loyalists and Indians at Oriskany. Only one original writer ever questioned the fact, whereas all other historians agree in establishing it. The reports of St. Leger not only prove the presence of Sir John Johnson in command, but they praise his able dispositions for the ambuscade or battle. Family tradition—a sure index to the truth if not the very truth itself—and contemporary publications remove every doubt. Sir John's brother-in-law, Major Stephen Watts, of New York city, dangerously wounded, appears to have been second in command, certainly of the white troops, and most gallantly prominent in the bloodiest, closest fighting. He, like Harkheimer, besides receiving other terrible wounds, lost his leg* in this action; but, unlike the latter, under equally disadvantageous circumstances, preserved his life.

not with spears, but with half-pikes or espontons. The last were symbols of authority and command, and in an old print St. Leger is represented with an esponton in his hand. Over a hundred years ago there was a great question whether light double-barrel muskets—something like those furnished to the French military police in Corsica—should not constitute a part of the armament of officers in the French service. The folly of espontons survived down to the beginning of this century in some services, and the canes of Spanish officers to-day may be representatives of the obsolete espontons.

* “Major (Stephen) Watts was wounded through the leg by a ball (he eventually lost his limb), and in the neck by a thrust from a bayonet, which passed through, back of the windpipe, and occasioned such an effusion of blood as to induce not only him but his captors to suppose (after leading him two or three miles) that he must die in consequence. He begged his captors to kill him: they refused, and left him by the

Without attempting to develop the completeness of this fratricidal butchery, it may be stated as one curious fact that Harkheimer's brother was not only, according to some narratives, a titular British colonel, but certainly a sort of quartermaster to St. Leger, and especially charged with the supervision of the Indian auxiliaries who were the cause of the General's death and the slaughter of so many of their common kinsmen, connections, friends and neighbors.

All the Revolutionary battles on New York soil were, more or less, family collisions, and realized the boast which Shakespeare, in the closing lines of his Tragedy of King John, puts in the mouth of the valiant bastard, Falconbridge :

side of a stream under the shade of a bridge (across Oriskany Creek), where he was found two days subsequently covered with fly-blows, but still alive. He was borne by some Indians to Schenectady (Oswego, and then by boat to Montreal), where he remained until sufficiently recovered to endure a voyage to England, where he was often after seen limping about Chelsea Hospital. [Error. He married a Miss Nugent, and reared a family of distinguished sons in elegant ease.] The sash taken from him is still in possession of the Sanders family."—"Legacy of Historical Gleanings," Vol. I., pages 69-70.

"The soldier who carried the Major to the stream—and received the (Major's) watch as a reward—was named Failing, a private in General Herkimer's (own, or original) regiment. He sold the watch for \$300, Continental money, to his Lieutenant, Martyn G. Van Alstyne, who would never part with it, &c. M. G. Van Alstyne was First Lieutenant, in the Seventh Company, General Herkimer's (own, or original) regiment, and was a great-uncle of my (F. H. Roof, of Rhinebeck, N. Y.) father. He lived until 1830. My father, now aged 75, remembers the watch well, and has often mentioned the incident to me, as related to him by his uncle."

" This England [New York] never did (nor never shall)
 Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror
 But when it first did help to wound itself.

* * * * *

Come the three corners of the world in arms
 And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue
 If England [New York] to itself do rest but true !"

This savage affair crazed even the Indians. ' It outstripped their own ferocity. They lost their heads—went mad like wild animals at the sight and smell of blood. They came to the conclusion that the white men had lured them into this very hell of fire and slaughter to exterminate them. The arena of battle became a maelstrom of bloodshed, and the Indians tomahawked and stabbed friend and foe alike, and in the wild whirl and cataclysm of passions, more powerful than their own, suffered a loss which appalled even the fell instincts of the savage.

As an American, and especially as a Knickerbacker, the historian cannot but rejoice in the determination exhibited by the people of his State and kindred blood, and of this opportunity of demonstrating it. Still, as a chronicler of events, there is no evading the concurrent testimony of facts; of "Kapp's History of his People" (*i. e.*, the Dutch and German settlers of the Mohawk Valley), and of St. Leger's Reports. All of these concur in the evidence, direct and circumstantial, that Harkheimer's little army suffered a *tactical* disaster. That this did not remain a defeat and was converted (as was Monmouth) eventually into a moral triumph and political as well as a strategical success, was due to the common-sense commandership of Harkheimer.

According to his plan, the advance and attack of his column of Mohawk Valley men was to be a combined movement, based upon, or involving, a simultaneous sortie from Fort Stanwix. *This sortie was not made in time* to save Harkheimer's life or the loss of over two-thirds of his command, killed and wounded or prisoners. Nothing preserved the survivors of Harkheimer's column but the deluging "shower of blessing." When the flood began to abate, and not until then, did Willett take advantage of the storm to make his sortie and attack that portion of St. Leger's lines which had been stripped to co-operate in the ambush set for Harkheimer. The siege works, or lines of investment—to apply a formal term to very trifling imitations—were very incomplete. To style them "lines of investment" is a misnomer. St. Leger's three batteries—the first, three light guns; the second, four diminutive mortars; the third, three more small guns—were totally inadequate for siege purposes, *whereas there were fourteen pieces of artillery mounted in the fort.* St. Leger did have two six-pounders, but the carriages were found to be so rotten that they had to be reconstructed on the spot, and consequently could not have been of service when most needed. He refers to this fact by implication in his report. The redoubts to cover the British batteries, St. Leger's line of approaches and his encampment were all on the north side of the fort. These were occupied by 250 to 350 regulars and Provincials. Sir John Johnson's camp or works, held by about 133 Loyalist troops, were to the southward. It was against these last, *entirely denuded*

of their defenders, that Willett made his sortie. St. Leger's works and those of Sir John Johnson were widely separated and independent of each other, and the intervals, to make the circuit of the investment *apparently* complete, were held, or rather patrolled, by the Indians, who, however, during the sortie, were all away ambuscading and assaulting Harkheimer. Consequently, Willett's sortie, however successful in its results as to material captured, and as a diversion, was utterly devoid of peril. That he had time to plunder Sir John Johnson's camp, and three times send out seven wagons, load them, and send them back into the post, without the loss of a man, is unanswerable proof that he met with no opposition. He surprised and captured a small squad of prisoners (?)—five, an officer (commissioned or non-commissioned) and four privates—and saw a few dead Indians and whites, but nowhere does it appear whether they had been killed by the fire from the fort or in the attack. All the merit that belongs to his sortie, in a military point of view, is the fact that to save whatever material Willett did not have time to remove, Sir John Johnson had to extricate and hurry back his "Royal Greens" from the battle-ground of Oriskany, four to five and a half miles away; leaving the stage of collision with the expectation that the completion of the bloody work would be effectually performed by the Indians. These, however, had already got their fill of fighting, and to this alone was due the result, so fortunate for the survivors of Harkheimer's column, that its remnant was left in possession of the field, soaked with their blood

and covered with their dead and wounded. The glory of Oriskany belongs to the men of the Mohawk Valley, only in that, although they were "completely entrapped," they defended themselves with such desperation for five or six hours, and finally displayed so much restored courage, that they were able to extricate even a few fragments from the slaughter pit. That Willett captured "five British standards," or five British stand of colors, is not probable; scarcely possible. They may have been camp colors or markers. The regimental colors are not entrusted to dribble detachments from regiments. The "Royal Greens" may have had a color, a single flag, although this is very doubtful, because, if only 133 constituted their whole strength, they formed a very weak—a mere skeleton—battalion. The colors of the Eighth or King's Regiment of Foot were certainly left at headquarters, likewise those of the British Thirty-fourth.* The same remark applies to the Hesse-Hanau Chasseurs—a company of Jagers or

* In corroboration of this view of the subject, take the concluding paragraph of Washington's letter of July 20, 1779, to the President of Congress, reporting the capture of Stony Point, on the night of the 15-16th July, 1770. In this paragraph he states that "two standards" were taken, "one belonging to the garrison [this was not a standard *proper*, but what is technically called a garrison flag] and one [a standard proper] to the Seventeenth Regiment." Stony Point was held by a British force only a few less than the white besieging force before Fort Stanwix. The garrison was composed of detachments from four different regular organizations, and yet these had only one standard, proper, which belonged to the Seventeenth. Of this regiment there were six companies, the majority of it in the works, where also the Lieut.-Colonel commanding had his permanent quarters.

Riflemen would certainly not have with it the regimental standard.

As still further proof of this view taken, the camp of the British Regulars, proper, was not attacked. The fact is; the American story of Willett's sortie has an atmosphere of myth about it. St. Leger's report to Burgoyne, and likewise to his immediate superior, Carleton—the latter the most circumstantial—present the most convincing evidence of truthfulness. St. Leger writes to Carleton :

“ At the time [when Harkheimer drew near] *I had not 250 of the King's troops in camp*, the various and extensive operations I was under an absolute necessity of entering into having employed the rest; and therefore [I] could not send [originally] *above 80 white men, rangers and troops included*, with the whole corps of Indians. Sir John Johnson put himself at the head of this party. * * * * *

“In relation to the victory [over Harkheimer], it was equally complete as if the whole [of the Americans] had fallen; nay, more so, as the 200 [out of 800 or 900 or 1,000] who escaped served only to spread the panic wider; but it was not so with the Indians, their loss was great. I must be understood *Indian computation*, being only about 30 killed and wounded, and in that number some of their favorite chiefs and confidential warriors were slain. * * * [As I suspected, the enemy [Willett] made a sally with 250 men towards Lieut. Bird's post to facilitate the entrance of the relieving corps or bring on a general engagement with every advantage they could wish.

* * * * *

“Immediately upon the departure of Captain Hoxes I learned that Lieut. Bird, misled by the information of a cowardly *Indian* that Sir John was prest, *had quitted his post* to march to his assistance. I commanded the detachment of the King's regiment in support of Captain Hoxes by a road in sight of the

garrison, which, with executive fire from his party, immediately drove the enemy into the fort without any further advantage than frightening some squaws and pilfering the packs of the warriors which they left behind them."

Col. Claus corroborates and explains this :

"During the action [with Harkheimer], when the garrison found the Indians' camp (who went out against their reinforcements) empty, they boldly sally'd out with three hundred men and two field-pieces, and took away the Indians' packs, with their cloaths, wampum and silver work, 'they having gone in their shirts, or naked, to action ;' [Western Indians strip to the buff for fighting to this day] and when they found a party advancing from our camp, they returned with their spoil, taking with them Lieut. Singleton [wounded about the same time with Major or Captain Watts *at Oriskany*], and a private of Sir John's Regiment, who lay wounded in the Indian camp. The disappointment was rather greater to the Indians than their loss, for they had nothing to cover themselves at night, or against the weather, and nothing in our camp to supply them till I got to Oswego."

Nothing beneficial could have resulted from collusion in the reports of the British and Loyal officers. The fact that Willett sent his seven wagons out and in, three times, shows there could have been no enemy encountered, for riflemen in the woods could at least have shot down his horses if they had not the courage to exchange fires with his men.

It was Harkheimer who knocked all the fight out of the Indians, and it was the desertion of the Indians, *and this alone*, that rendered St. Leger's expedition abortive.

In summing up it should be borne in mind that St. Leger had only 375 to 410 regulars and Provincials, in ad-

dition to his ten light guns and diminutive mortars, to besiege a fort, well supplied, mounting fourteen guns, garrisoned with 750 at least, and according to the indefinite language of other authorities, 950 troops of the New York Line, *i. e.*, to a certain degree, Regulars.

Nevertheless, St. Leger continued to press the siege, with at most 410 whites against 750 to 950 whites, from the 6th until the 22d August, and when he broke up and retreated at the news of Arnold's approach with a force magnified by rumor, it was almost altogether on account of the *infamous conduct* of the Indians. All the evidence when sifted justifies his remarks that the Indians "became more formidable than the enemy we had to expect." By enemy he meant Arnold's column, hastening his march against him and the garrison in his immediate front, and yet neither St. Leger nor Burgoyne underestimated the American troops—not even the Militia, especially when the latter were fighting under cover or behind works.

The gist of all this lies in one fact—it was not the defense of Fort Stanwix, but the self-devotion and desperation of Harkheimer's militia that saved the Mohawk Valley, and constitutes Oriskany the Thermopylæ of the American Revolution; the crisis and turning-point against the British,* of the Burgoyne campaign; and the "*Decisive Conflict*" of *America's Seven Years' War for Independence*.

* As everything in regard to these occurrences is interesting, the following translation of von Eelking's "*Deutschen Hülfsstruppen*" (I., 3-23) is presented in regard to the Hesse-Hanau Jäger or Rifle Company attached to St. Leger's command:

"Finally it is proper to commemorate in detail an event in connection with this campaign which we have alluded to or treated already more at length : the flanking expedition undertaken, as a side-issue, against Fort Stanwix. The Jager or Rifle Company which was assigned to him was the first that the Count of Hesse-Hanau sent over to America. It left Hanau 7th May, 1777, and reached Canada 11th of June. It was at once sent forward by the Governor (Carleton) to join the troops which had already started up the St. Lawrence and assigned to the column of St. Leger. It was commanded by Lieut. Hildebrand. The march through these distant and sparsely settled districts was long and very laborious, accompanied with all kinds of dangers and obstacles. In order to avoid the almost impenetrable wilderness, a greater circuit was made across Lake Ontario. The corps of St. Leger, *comprising detachments from so many different organizations*, started in the beginning of July from the neighborhood of Montreal as soon as the expected Indian force had been assembled there. The transportation in flat boats 150 miles up the river was very slow ; the more so because, every now and then, the boats had to be taken ashore and carried by hand around the rapids or cataracts. Having overcome the difficulties of the river, the route lay across the broad Ontario Lake to Fort Oswego on the south shore. There a day was devoted to rest, in order that the troops might recover to some extent from the exhaustion produced by their previous exertions. Thence the route followed a stream (Oswego River) and a small lake [Oneida] inland in a southerly direction ; [thence *a cheval*, and up, Wood Creek] the troops marched to the Mohawk, on which stood Fort Stanwix, held by the enemy [Americans]. The march was extremely laborious, since not only natural difficulties had to be overcome, but also the artificial obstacles which the Americans had placed in the way to hinder the advance of their opponents.

"On the 3d August, the Fort—after the garrison had rejected the demand for a surrender—was assaulted without success. On the 5th, a relieving column of nearly 1,000 men drew near. St. Leger was aware of its approach in time, and for its reception [Sir John Johnson] placed an ambuscade in the woods. This for the greater part consisted of regular troops, and among these were the Hesse-Hanau Jagers. [It was the intention of the British authorities to send the whole Regiment or Battalion of Hesse-Hanau Chasseurs or Riflemen, but only one company arrived in time, and only one company, not over 40 or 50 men, was furnished to St. Leger.] The rest were Indians."

[This account differs from every one hitherto examined, and shows even yet we are not acquainted with some of the most interesting facts

of this momentous conflict. St. Leger, in his official report, expressly states that he did not send over 80 white men, Rangers and troops included, with the whole corps of Indians, and that Sir John Johnson was in command. The discrepancy, however, is easily reconcilable with what has been hitherto stated, and explains the late arrival of the "Johnson" or "Royal Greens." These latter must have remained in camp to hold the garrison in check. When the Indians began to slink out of the fight, the Royal Greens must have been hurried to the scene of action, leaving their lines to the south of the Fort entirely destitute of defenders. This established what the writer has always claimed, that Willett encountered no opposition at all in his sortie, and that the ordinary accounts of it are no better than a myth. Furthermore, everything demonstrates irrefutably the total unreliability of the Indians as fighters; and that the failure of St. Leger's expedition is entirely attributed to the misconduct of these savages. Finally, since the Burgoyne expedition depended on St. Leger's success, and his utter military bankruptcy is chargeable to the Indians, and to them alone, therefore—as is clearly shown—the whole British Combined Operations of 1777 ended in a catastrophe, through a fatal overestimate of the value of Indians as a fighting power, or as auxiliaries wherever any hard fighting had to be done, or for any useful purpose whatever involving perseverance.]

"The surprise was such a perfect success scarcely one-half the militia escaped. While St. Leger had thus scattered his troops, the besieged made a sortie and plundered his camp. This was a grievous loss to him: because in these almost desert districts pretty much all the necessaries of life had to be carried [along with a column]; since the British troops were wanting in artillery, and since a second relieving column, 2,000 strong, was approaching under the audacious Gen. Arnold, which threw the Indians into such extreme nervous terror that they either scattered or besought that they might be led back again. In consequence of [all] this, St. Leger had to break up the siege on the 23d August, and, abandoning tents, guns and stores, retreat at once.

"So ended this operation *which, if it had turned out more successfully, would, in any event, have prevented the tragic fate of Burgoyne's army.*"

If the disinterested German soldier and historian, von Elking, does *not* demonstrate that the success of Burgoyne depended on that of St. Leger, and that this was completely frustrated by Oriskany, thus making Oriskany the turning point of the American Revolution—words are inadequate to express the truth.



Engagement near Fox's Mills,*

OFTEN STYLED

THE BATTLE OF KLOCK'S FIELD.

19TH OCTOBER, 1780.

"History is not now-a-days consulted as a faithful oracle; it is rather treated like the old lamp as too rusty, too old and homely, to bear light amidst the blaze of modern illumination, but more valuable as an instrument of incantation, which, by occasional friction upon its surface, may conjure up mighty spirits to do the bidding of a master. Such an instrument in the hands of a good and faithful magician will not be employed upon baseless fabrications, that new power may dissolve, but in building upon the foundations of Truth, that shall still hold all together, in defiance of the agency of even the same enchantment to destroy the structures it has raised."

SOUTHGATE'S *"Many Thoughts on Many Things."*

Of all the engagements which have occurred upon the soil of New York, the "cock-pit," or "the Flanders," of the Colonies, there is none which has been so much misrepresented as this. There is very little basis for the narrative generally accepted as history. Envy, hatred and malice have painted every picture, and even gone so far as to malign the State commander, the scion of a family who risked more than any other for the Commonwealth, to conceal and excuse the bad conduct of his troops. As for the

* Sometimes confounded with that of Stone Arabia (on or near de Peyster Patent); East side of Caroga Creek, where it empties into the Mohawk River, near St. Johnsville, Montgomery County, S. N. Y., sixty-three miles W. by N. of Albany.

leader of the Loyalists, it is no wonder that his reputation fared badly at the hands of a community whom he had made to suffer so severely for their sins against justice, his family connections, friends and himself. The State Brigadier-General was wrongfully accused and abused, although acquitted of every charge by his peers,* and highly commended for activity, fidelity, prudence, spirit and conduct. The Royal leader, like the State commander, was also subjected to the false accusation of want of courage, on the statement of a personal enemy; but, like his antagonist, received the highest commendation of his superior, a veteran and proficient.

Before attempting to describe what actually occurred on the date of the collision, a brief introduction is necessary to its comprehension. The distinguished Peter Van Schaack (Stone's "Sir William Johnson," II., 388) pronounced Sir William Johnson "THE GREATEST CHARACTER OF THE AGE," the ablest man who figured in our immediate Colonial history. He was certainly the benefactor of Central New York, the protector of its menaced frontier, the first who by victories stayed the flood-tide of French invasion. His son, Sir John, succeeded to the bulk of his vast possessions in the most troublous times of New York's history. He owed everything to the Crown and nothing to the People, and yet the People, because he would not betray his duty to the Crown, drove him forth

* "French's Gazetteer," 432; Stone's "Brant," II., 124-5; Stone's "Border Wars," ii., 126-7; Simm's "Schoharie County," 430-1; Campbell's "Border Wars," 199-201.

and despoiled him. More than once he returned in arms to punish and retrieve, at a greater hazard than any to which the mere professional soldier is subjected. By the detestable laws of this embryo State, even a peaceable return subjected him to the risk of a halter; consequently, in addition to the ordinary perils of battle, he fought, as it were, with a rope around his neck. There was no honorable captivity for him. The same pitiless revenge which, after King's Mountain (S. C.), in the same month and year (7th October, 1780), strung up a dozen Loyalist officers and soldiers would have sent him speedily to execution. The coldly cruel or unrelentingly severe—choose between the terms—Governor Clinton would have shown no pity to one who had struck harder and oftener than any other, and left the record of his visitations in letters of fire on vast tablets of ashes coherent with blood.

In 1777, through the battle-plans of Sir John, a majority of the effective manhood of the Mohawk—among these some of his particular persecutors—perished at Oriskany. Neither Sir John Johnson nor Brant had anything to do with Wyoming. This is indisputable, despite the bitter words and flowing verses of historians, so called, and poets, drawing false fancy pictures of what never had any actual existence. In 1779, his was the spirit which induced the Indians to make an effort to arrest Sullivan, and it was Sir John, at length, interposed between this General and his great objective, Niagara, if it was not the very knowledge that Sir John was concentrating forces in his front that caused Sullivan to turn back. In the following autumn

(1779) he made himself master of the key of the "great portage" between Ontario and the Mohawk, and his farther visitation of the valley eastward was only frustrated by the stormy season on the great lake by which alone he could receive reinforcements and supplies.

In May, 1780, starting from Bulwagga Bay (near Crown Point) on Lake Champlain, he constructed a military road through the wilderness—of which vestiges are still plainly visible—ascended the Sacondaga, crossed the intervening watershed, and fell (on Sunday night, 21st May) with the suddenness of a waterspout upon his rebellious birthplace, accomplished his purpose, left behind him a dismal testimony of his visitation, and despite the pursuit of aggregated enemies, escaped with his recovered plate, rich booty and numerous prisoners.

It was during this expedition that Sir William's fishing house and summer house on the Sacondaga were destroyed, and it is a wonder Sir John did not burn to the ground the family hall at Johnstown. This was not a raid, but an invasion, which depended for success upon, at least, demonstrations by the British forces in New York. As in 1777 and 1779, and again in the fall of 1780, there was nothing done by the indolent professionals.

In August-September of the same year, he organized a second expedition at Lachine (nine miles above Montreal), ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, followed up the course of the Oswego River, coasted the southern shore of Oneida Lake, until he reached the mouth of Chittenango Creek (western boundary of Madison County

and eastern of Onondaga County), where he left his *batteaux* and canoes, struck off southeastward up the Chittenango, then crossing the Unadilla and the Charlotte, (sometimes called the East branch of the Susquehanna), and descended in a tempest of flame into the rich settlements along the Schoharie, which he struck at what was known as the Upper Fort, now Fultonham, Schoharie County.*

Thence he wasted the whole of this rich valley to the mouth of this stream, and then turning westward completed the devastation of everything which preceding inroads had spared. (Stone's "Brant," II., 124.) The preliminary march through natural obstacles, apparently insurmountable to an armed force, was one of certainly 200 miles. The succeeding sweep and retreat embraced almost as many. The result, if reported with any correctness, might recall Sir Walter Scott's lines ("Vision of Don Roderick," Conclusion II.):

"While downward on the land his legions press,
Before him it was rich with vine and flock,
And smil'd like Eden in her summer dress,—
Behind their march a howling wilderness."

More than one contemporary statement attests that the invasion carried things back to the uncertainties of the old French inroads and reinvested Schenectady with the dan-

* If the old maps of this then savage country are reliable, he may have crossed from the valley of the Charlotte into that of the Mohawk Branch of the Delaware, or the Papontuck Branch further east again. From either there was a portage of only a few miles to the Schoharie Kill.

gerous honor of being considered again a frontier post. (Hough's "Northern Invasion," 131, 144.

The immediate local damage done by Sir John, *within* the territory affected by his visitation, was nothing in comparison to the consequences, militarily considered, *without* these. The destruction of breadstuffs and forage was enormous. Washington and the army felt it, since the districts invaded and wasted were granaries on which the American commissariat and quartermaster's department depended in a great measure for the daily rations which they had to provide. The number of bushels of wheat and other grain rendered worthless "threatened alarming consequences." Eighty thousand bushels were lost in the Schoharie settlement alone. Washington admits this in a letter to the President of Congress, dated 7th November, 1780. Had the British military authorities in New York and in Canada been alive to the advantages to be derived from the condition of affairs in Central New York, they might have enabled Sir John to strike a blow that would have shaken the fabric of Revolution, throughout the Middle States, at least. Alas! they seem to have been possessed with the spirit of inertion and incapacity, and the abandoned Loyalists might have exclaimed, with Uhland :

"Forward! Onward! far and forth!
An earthquake shout awakes the North.
Forward!
Forward! Onward! far and forth!
And prove what gallant hearts are worth."
Forward!"

The terrifying intelligence of the appearance of this little "army of vengeance" aroused the whole energy of coterminous districts; the militia were assembled in haste, and pushed forward to the point of danger, under Brigadier-General Robert van Rensselaer, of Claverack (now Columbia County), who were guided into the presence of their enemy literally by "pillars of fire by night and columns of smoke by day." Although he knew that he was pursued by forces treble or quadruple if not quintuple his own, Sir John continued to burn and destroy up to the very hour when his troops were obliged to lay aside the torch to resume their firelocks. In fact, if the two engagements of the 19th of October, 1770, were contemplated parts of a combined plan to overwhelm Sir John, he actually fought and burned simultaneously. To whomsoever a contemporaneous map of this country is accessible, it will be evident how vast a district was subjected to this war cyclone. On the very day (19th October) that van Rensselaer was at Fort Plain, the flourishing settlements of Stone Arabia (Palatine Township, Montgomery County), a few miles to the westward, were destroyed. Finding that he must fight, either to arrest pursuit or to insure retreat, Sir John hastily assembled some of his wearied troops, while others kept on burning in every direction, to engage the garrison of Fort Paris—constructed to protect the Stone Arabia settlement (Simm's "*Schoharie County*," 426)—which marched out to intercept him under Colonel Brown, an officer of undoubted ability and of tried courage. Brown's immediate force consisted of 130 men of the Massachusetts Levies,

and a body of militia—70 and upwards—whose numbers and co-operation seemed to have been studiously concealed by almost every writer at the period ; that there were militia present is unquestionable. It is almost, if not absolutely, certain that Brown marched out of Fort Paris in pursuance of the orders and plan of van Rensselaer, in order to cut Sir John off from his line of retreat, and hold him or “head him” until van Rensselaer could fall upon him with overwhelming numbers. The same failure to co-operate in executing a very sensible piece of strategy sacrificed Harkheimer to Sir John at Oriskany, some three years previously, and resulted in a similar catastrophe. To appreciate and to forestall was the immediate and only solution. Sir John attacked Colonel Brown—like “now, on the head,” as Suwarrow phrased it—about 9 or 10 A. M., killed him and about 100 of his men, and captured several (Hough’s “Northern Invasions” says 40 killed and two prisoners), and sent the survivors flying into van Rensselaer’s lines, to infect them with the terror of the slaughter from which they had just escaped. The Stone Arabia fight, in which Colonel Brown fell, was only two miles distant from the “Nose,” where van Rensselaer’s forces had already arrived. They heard the firing just as twilight was melting into night, in a valley where the latter prematurely reigned through the masses of smoke from burning buildings, which brooded like a black fog, sensible to the touch. Van Rensselaer came upon the position where Sir John had “settled” himself to resist. This “settled” is most apposite. It recalls a spectacle often visible in our woods,

when a predatory hawk, wearied with his flight, settles on a limb to rest and resist a flock of encompassing furious crows, whose nests he has just invaded.

To refer back to the darkness occasioned by smoke, it may be necessary to state that the dwellers of cities or old cultivated districts have no conception of the atmospheric disturbance occasioned by extensive conflagrations in a wooded country.*

It is only lately that forest fires, commingled with fog, so obscured the atmosphere along the coast, to the eastward, that lamps and gas were necessary in the middle of the afternoon.

What is more, the evening air in October is often heavy through a surcharge of dampness, especially along large streams and in bottom lands. To such as can imagine this condition of the atmosphere, it will at once become evident how much it was augmented immediately after a few volleys from about two thousand muskets, the smoke of the conflagrations, and the explosions of the powder, rendering objects invisible almost at arms' length. This is established by the testimony of a gallant American officer, Col.

* The dark day in Massachusetts, of 19th May, 1780, was due to this cause (Heath, 286-7-8), when artificial night, culminating about noon, sent the animal creation to roost and repose with less exceptions than during the completest eclipse, and filled the minds of men with apprehension and astonishment. This is not the only "dark day" so recorded. On the 25th October, 1820, at New York, candlelight was necessary at 11 A. M. The 16th May, 1780, was another "dark day" in Canada, where similar phenomena were observed on the 9th, 15th and 16th October, 1785. On the last, "it is said to have been as dark as a dark night." Several other instances are chronicled.

Dubois (Hough, 183-5), who stated that shortly after the firing became warm, when within five paces of his general, he could only recognize him by his voice. Therefore for anyone to pretend to relate what occurred within the lines of Sir John Johnson a few (15?) minutes after volleys had been exchanged along the whole fronts, is simply drawing upon the "imagination for facts." Consequently, when the American writers say that the enemy broke and ran, it was simply attributing to them what was occurring within van Rensselaer's lines, where the officers could not restrain the rear from firing over and into the front, and from breaking beyond the power of being rallied. Doubtless, as always, the regulars on both sides behaved as well as circumstances permitted. Sir John's Indians, opposed to the American Continentals and Levies for the defence of the frontiers, it is very likely gave way almost at once. Brant, their gallant and able leader, was wounded in the heel, and therefore unable to move about, encourage them and hold them up to their work. Thus crippled he had enough to do to get off, for if taken he knew well that his shrift would be short and his "despatch" speedy, if not "happy." Sir John was also struck in the thigh, and was charged with quitting the field. The only evidence of this is derived from one of his bitter personal enemies, surcharged with spite and a desire for vengeance. How bitterly he felt can be easily conceived, when he turned upon van Rensselaer and emphasized:—(Stone's "Brant," II., 124-5, &c.) Colonel Stone remarks, "other accounts speak differently." (*Ibid*, II., 122.)

Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand wrote to the home government that Sir John "had destroyed the settlements of Schoharie and Stone Arabia, and laid waste a large extent of country," which was most true. It was added :

"He had several engagements with the enemy, in which he came off victorious. In one of them, near Stone Arabia, he killed a Col. Brown, a notorious and active rebel, with about one hundred officers and men." "I cannot finish without expressing to your Lordship the *perfect satisfaction which I have from the zeal, spirit and activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprise.*"

Max von Eelking (II., 199-200), in his compilation of contemporaneous observations, presents the following testimony of the judgment and reliability of the superior, Gen. Haldimand, who reported, officially, in such flattering terms of the result of Sir John's expedition. He says of Haldimand that "he passed, according to English ideas, *for one of the best and most trustworthy of British generals*; had fought with distinction during the Seven Years' War in Germany. * * * *He was a man strictly upright, kind-hearted and honorable.* * * * Always of a character quite formal and punctilious as to etiquette, he was very fastidious in his intercourse, and did not easily make new acquaintances. * * * *He required continual activity from his subordinates.* * * * A Brunswick officer considers him *one of the most worthy officers England has ever had.* * * * This was about the character of the man to whom now the fate of the Canadas was intrusted by his Britannic Majesty."

It now seems a fitting time to consider the number of the opposing forces engaged. There has been a studied attempt to appreciate those present under Sir John and to depreciate those at the disposal of Van Rensselaer. The same holds good with regard to the losses of the former ; whereas the casualties suffered by the latter are studiously concealed. No two works agree in regard to the column led by Johnson. It has been estimated even as high as 1500, whereas a critical examination of its component parts demonstrates that it could not have comprised much more than a third of this number at the outset. As all Sir John's papers were lost in the Egyptian darkness of the night of the 19th October, it is necessary to fall back upon contemporaneous works for every detail.

The product of this calculation exactly agrees with the statement embodied in the testimony of Colonel Harper : "The enemy's force was about 400 white men and but few Indians. The post from Albany, 18th October, reported that Sir John's party were "said to be about 500 men come down the Mohawk River." (Hough's "Northern Invasion," 122.)

When Sir John struck the Charlotte or Eastern Susquehanna he was joined by several hundred Indians. But a quarrel founded on jealousy—similar to such as was the curse of every aggregation of Scottish Highland tribes, even under Montrose, Claverhouse and the Pretender—soon after occurred, and several hundreds abandoned him.* (Simm's "Schoharie County, 399.)

* The actual composition of Sir John Johnson's expeditionary co-

Great stress has also been laid on Sir John's being provided with artillery. [The American general did have quite heavy guns for the period and locality, nine pounders.]

lumn is well known, however often willfully misstated. He had three companies of his own Regiment of "Royal Greens," or "Loyal New Yorkers," one company of German Jagers; one company of British Regulars belonging to the Eighth (Major, afterwards Colonel A. S. de Peyster's) King's Regiment of Foot, which performed duty by detachments all along the frontier from Montreal to the farthest west, and in every raid and hostile movement—besides detachments—a company or platoon from the Twentieth, and (?) also from the Thirty-fourth British Infantry, and a detachment—sometimes rated by the Americans as high as two hundred men—from Butler's Loyalist or Tory Rangers. Sir John in his reports of casualties mentions these all, except the Twentieth Regiment, and no others. Figure this up, and take sixty as a fair allowance for the numerical force of a company, which is too large an allowance, basing it on the average strength of British regiments which had seen active service for any length of time on this continent, and six times sixty makes three hundred and sixty, plus two hundred, gives five hundred and sixty. Deduct a fair percentage for the footsore and other casualties inseparable from such service, and it reduces his whites down to exactly what Colonel Harper states was reported to him by an Indian as being at Klock's Field.

Colonel W. L. Stone ("Brant," II., 105) specifies three companies of Sir John's own Regiment of Greens, one company of German Jagers, a detachment of two hundred men (doubtful authority cited) from Butler's Rangers, and one (only one) company of British Regulars. The Indian portion of this expedition was chiefly collected under Brant at Tioga Point, on the Susquehanna, which they ascended to Unadilla. Stone's language, "besides Mohawks," is ambiguous. Sir John had few Indians left—as was usually the case with these savages—when they had "to face the music."

Governor Clinton (Hough's "Northern Invasion," 154) estimates Sir John's force at seven hundred and fifty picked troops and Indians. Very few Indians were in the fight of the 19th October, P. M. Other corroborations have already been adduced. Simm's ("Schoharie County," 399) says that Sir John left Niagara with about five hundred British, Royalist and German troops, and was joined by a large body of Indians and Tories under Captain Brant, on the Susquehanna, making his effec-

Close study exploded this phantasy likewise. That he he had several pieces of extremely light artillery, hardly deserving the name, with him as far as Chittenango

tive force, "as estimated at the several forts," one thousand men. If this estimate is credited to the several forts who were "panicky," the condition of their vision renders its correctness unworthy of acceptance. He then goes on to say that several hundred Indians deserted.

The strength of regiments varied from three hundred and under to six hundred and fifty. It is well known that some American regiments scarcely rose above one hundred rank and file. It is almost unanimously conceded that Harkheimer had at least four regiments—if not five—the whole comprising only eight or nine hundred men, at Oriskany. This does not include volunteers, Indians, &c., &c.

General van Rensselaer, judging from the testimony given before the Court of Enquiry, and his own letters (Simms, 425, &c.), had seven to nine hundred militia when he reached Schenectady. It is very hard to calculate his ultimate aggregate of militia. He had at first his own Claverack Brigade. *The City of Albany Militia and some other Regiments* had preceded him. Colonel Van Alstyne's Regiment joined him by another route. How did Colonel Cuyler's Albany Regiment come up? Colonel Clyde reinforced him with the Canajoharie District Regiment (Tryon County, for military purposes, was divided into Districts, each of which furnished its quota), likewise (Simms, 425) "the Schoharie Militia" "near Fort Hunter." This dissection might be followed out further to magnify the American force, and show against what tremendous odds Sir John presented an undaunted front, and what numbers he shocked, repulsed and foiled. Van Rensselaer was afterwards joined by the Continental Infantry, under Colonel Morgan Lewis; the New York *quasi*-regulars or Levies, three or four hundred, under Colonel Dubois; McKean's Volunteers, sixty; the Indians under Colonel Louis, sixty; John Ostrom, a soldier present, adds (Simms' "Schoharie County," 424) two hundred Indians under Colonel Harper, the Artillery and the Horse. The Militia of Albany County were organized into seventeen regiments; of Charlotte County into one; of Tryon County into five; besides these there were other troops at hand under different names and peculiarities of service. It is certain that all the Militia of Albany, Charlotte and Tryon Counties, and every other organization that were accessible, were hurried to meet Sir John, and severe Clinton was not the man to brook shirking. Twenty-three

Creek is true (Hammond's "Madison County," 656). Two of these he sunk intentionally in this stream, or else they went to its bottom accidentally. Thence he carried on two little four and three-quarter pounder mortars, probably "Royals," and a grasshopper three-pounder. As our armies were well acquainted with the improved Cohorns used at the siege of Petersburg, it is unnecessary to explain that they were utterly impotent against stone buildings, or even those constructed of heavy logs. The Cohorns of 1780 were just what St. Leger reported of them in 1777—that they were good for "teazing," and nothing more. Even one of these Sir John submerged in a marsh after his attempt upon the Middle Fort, now Middleburg. Clinton (157) wrote that both were "concealed [abandoned] by the Loyalists on their route from Schoharie."

Most likely it was an impediment. And nothing is afterwards mentioned of the use of the other. The "grasshopper" three-pounder derived its name from the fact that it was not mounted upon wheels, but upon iron legs. It was one of those almost useless little guns which were transported on bat-horses, just as twelve-pounder mountain howitzers are still carried on pack animals. As Sir John's horses, draught and beef cattle, appear to have been stampeded in the confusion of the intense darkness;

regiments of Militia *must* have produced twenty-four hundred men—a ridiculously small figure. (Add the other troops known to be with van Rensselaer, and he faced the Loyal leader with five or six times as many as the latter had;} or else the Claverack Brigadier had with him only a startling redundancy of field officers and a disgraceful deficiency of rank and file.

almost everything which was not upon his soldier's persons, or had not been sent forward when he "settled" at Klock's Field to check pursuit, had to be left when he drew off. The darkness of the night, as stated, was intensified by the powder smoke and smoke of burning buildings, and the bottom fog which filled the whole valley. Under such circumstances small objects could not be recovered in the hurry of a march.

The Americans made a great flourish over the capture of Sir John's artillery. The original report was comparatively lengthy, but simply covered the little "grasshopper," fifty-three rounds of ammunition, and a few necessary implements and equipments for a piece, the whole susceptible of transport on two pack-saddles. Most probably the bat-horses were shot or disabled or "run off" in the melee.

It is even more difficult to arrive at van Rensselaer's numbers. The lowest figure when at Schenectady is seven hundred. This perhaps indicated his own Claverack (now Columbia County) Brigade. He received several accessions of force, Tryon and Albany County militia; the different colonels and their regiments are especially mentioned, besides the *quasi*-regular command—three or four hundred (Hough, one hundred and fifty)—of Colonel Du-bois' Levies raised and expressly maintained for the defence of the New York Northern Frontier; Captain M'Kean's eighty Independent Volunteers; sixty to one hundred Indians, Oneida warriors, under Colonel Louis: a detachment of regular Infantry under Colonel Morgan Lewis, who led the advance (Stone's "Brant," II., 120): a company or

detachment of artillery and two nine-pounders, and a body of horsemen.

Colonel Stone, writing previous to 1838, says: "The command of General van Rensselaer numbered about fifteen hundred—a force in every way superior to that of the enemy." It is very probable that he had over two thousand, if not many more than this. Stone adds ("Brant," II., 119): "Sir John's troops, moreover, were *exhausted* by forced marches, active service, and heavy knapsacks, while those of Van Rensselaer were fresh in the field." Sir John's troops had good reason to be exhausted. Besides their march from Canaseraga, one hundred and fifty miles, they had been moving, destroying and fighting constantly for three or four days, covering in this exhaustive work a distance of over seventy-five (twenty-six miles straight) miles in the Mohawk Valley alone (Hough, 152). On the very day of the main engagement they had wasted the whole district of Stone Arabia, destroyed Brown's command in a spirited attempt to hold the invaders, and actually advanced to meet van Rensselaer by the light of the conflagrations they kindled as they marched along. Each British and Loyal soldier carried eighty rounds of ammunition, which, together with his heavy arms, equipments, rations and plunder, must have weighed one hundred pounds and upwards per man. Van Rensselaer's Militia complained of fatigue; but when did this sort of troops ever march even the shortest testing distance without grumbling?

The Americans figured out Sir John's loss at 9 killed,

7 wounded, and 53 missing. His report to General Hal-
dimand states that throughout his whole expedition he
lost in killed, whites and Indians, 9; wounded, 7; and
missing, 48, which must have included the wounded who
had to be abandoned; and desertions, 3; the last item is
the most remarkable in its significance and insignificance.
(Hough's "Northern Invasion," 136.)

How the troops on either side were drawn up for the
fight appears to have been pretty well settled, for there
was still light enough to make this out, if no more. Sir
John's line extended from the river to the orchard near
Klock's house. His Rangers—Loyalists—were on the
right, with their right on the bank of the Mohawk. His
regular troops stood in column in the centre on the Flats.
Brant's Indians and the Hesse-Hanau Riflemen or Jagers
were on the left, in echelon, in advance of the rest about
one hundred and fifty yards, in the orchard. Van Rens-
selaer's forces were disposed: Colonel Dubois with the
Levies (*quasi*-regulars) on the right, Whites and Indians
constituting the central column, and the Albany Militia on
the left. [Simm's "Schoharie County," 430.] Not a single
witness shows where the Continentals, Artillerymen and
the Horsemen took position. As for the two nine-pounder
fieldpieces, they were left behind, stuck in the mud. It
was a *tohu-bohu*. The regulars on both sides behaved well,
as they almost always do. With the first shots the militia
began to fire—Cuyler's Regiment, four hundred yards
away from the enemy—the rear rank ran over and into
those in front, two hundred and fifty to three hundred

yards in advance (192), then broke ; all was confusion. It does not appear that the American Indians accomplished anything. Colonel Dubois' New York Levies ran out Brant's Indians, and got in the rear of Sir John's line, and then there was an end of the matter. (Simm's "Schoharie County," 429-30.) It had become so dark from various causes that, to use a common expression, "a man could not see his hand before his face."

Van Rennselaer had now enough to do to keep the majority of his troops together, and retreated from one and a half to three miles, to a cleared hill, where he was enabled to restore some order. The stories of disorder within Sir John's lines, except as regarded the Indians, are all founded on unreliable data ; nothing is known. When his antagonist fell back, he waited apparently until the moon rose, and then, or previously, fording the river (just above Nathan Christie's—(Simms, 430)—and commenced his retreat, which he was permitted to continue unmolested.

It is amusing to read the remarks and reasoning of patriotic imagination on this event. "By this time," says the Sexagenary, "however, the alarm had spread through the neighboring settlements, and a body of militia, of sufficient force to become the assailants, *arrived*, it is said, *within a short distance of the enemy, near the river*, and Sir John Johnson, *in consequence, had actually made arrangements to surrender.*" [Mark the logical military conclusion, Sir John being ready to surrender!] *The Americans, however, at this moment fell back a short distance* [two or three miles] for the sake of occupying a bet-

ter position during the night." If Sir John was scared and willing to give up, what need was there of the brave Americans falling back at all, or seeking a better position? All they had to do was to go forward, disarm the willing prisoners, and gather in the trophies. He had fought a Cumberland Church fight to check pursuit, and there was no Humphreys present to renew it and press on to an Appomattox Court House. He had accomplished his task; he had completed the work of destruction in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. There was nothing more to be wasted. Colonel Stone sums it up thus ("Brant," II., 124): "By this third and most formidable irruption into the Mohawk country during the season, Sir John had completed the entire destruction above Schenectady—the principal settlement above the Little Falls having been sacked and burned two years before." French observed that these incursions left "the remaining citizens stripped of almost everything except the soil."*

* The forces of Colonel [Sir John] Johnson, a part of which had crossed the river near Caughnawaga, destroyed all the Whig property, not only on the south, but on the north side, from Fort Hunter to the [Anthony's N. T. 60] Nose (some twenty-three to twenty-five miles), and in several instances where dwellings had been burned by the Indians under his command in May (1780), and temporary ones rebuilt, they were also consumed. * * * After Brown fell, the enemy, scattered in small bodies, were to be seen in every direction plundering and burning the settlements in Stone Arabia. In the afternoon General van Rensselaer, after being warmly censured for his delay by Col. Harper and several other officers, crossed the river at Fort Plain, and began the pursuit in earnest. The enemy were overtaken [awaited him] on the side of the river above St. Johnsville, near a stockade and blockhouse at Klock's, just before night, and a smart brush took place between the British troops and the Americans under Col. Dubois, in

The most curious thing in this connection is the part played by the fiery Governor Clinton. Colonel Stone expressly stated, in 1838, that he was with General van Rens-

which several on each side were killed or wounded. Johnson was compelled to retreat to a peninsula in the river, where he encamped with his men much wearied. His situation was such that he could have been taken with ease. Col. Dubois, with a body of Levies, took a station above him to prevent his proceeding up the river; Gen. van Rensselaer, with the main army, below; while Col. Harper, with the Oneida Indians, *gained a position on the south side of the river nearly opposite.* [Why did they not guard the ford by which Sir John crossed? They were afraid of him, and glad to let him go if he only *would go away.*] The general gave express orders that the attack should be renewed by the troops under his own immediate command at the rising of the [full (between 10 and 11 p. m. ?) (H. N. I. 55)] moon, some hour in the night. Instead, however, of encamping on the ground from which the enemy had been driven, as a brave officer would have done, *he fell back down the river and encamped THREE MILES distant.* The troops under Dubois and Harper could hardly be restrained from commencing the attack long before the moon arose; but when it did, they waited with almost breathless anxiety to hear the rattle of van Rensselaer's musketry. The enemy, who encamped on lands owned by the late Judge Jacob G. Klock, spiked their cannon [the diminutive three-pounder grasshopper was all they had], which was there abandoned; *and, soon after the moon appeared, began to move forward to a fording place just above the residence of Nathan Christie, and not far from their encampment.* Many were the denunciations made by the men under Dubois and Harper against Van Rensselaer, when they found he did not begin the attack, and had given strict orders that their commanders should not. They openly stigmatized the general * * * but, when several hours had elapsed, and he had not yet made his appearance, a murmur of discontent pervaded all. Harper and Dubois were compelled to see the troops under Johnson and Brant ford the river, and pass off *unmolested*, or disobey the orders of their commander, when they could, *unaided*, have given them most advantageous battle. Had those brave colonels, at the moment the enemy *were in the river*, taken the responsibility of disobeying their commander, as Murphy had done three days before, and commenced the attack in front and rear, the consequences must have been very fatal to the retreating army,

selaer a few hours before the fight, dined with him at Fort Plain, and remained at the Fort when van Rensselaer marched out to the fight. In Col. Stone's, or his son and namesake's, "Border Wars" (II., 122), this statement is repeated. Clinton, in one of his letters, dated 30th October, does not make the matter clear. He says (Hough, 151): "On receiving this intelligence [the movements of the British] I immediately moved up the river, in hopes of being able to gain their front, &c." In describing the engagement he says, "the night came on too soon for *us*;" and then afterwards he mentions "the morning after the action I arrived with the militia under my immediate command." This does not disprove Stone's account. Aid-Major Lansing testified before the court-martial that the Governor took command on the morning of the 21st. It is not likely that Governor Clinton would have found it pleasant to fall into the hands of Sir John, and Sir John would have been in a decidedly disagreeable position if the Governor could have laid hands upon him. There was this difference, however; Sir John was in the fight (Colonel Dubois wrote 11 A. M., the day after the fight (Hough's "Northern Invasion," 118). Prisoners say Sir John was wounded through the thigh) which he might have avoided; and the Governor might have been. Anyone who will consider the matter dispassionately will perceive that, now that the whole country was aroused, and all the able-bodied males, regu-

and the death of Col. Brown and his men promptly revenged.—*Jacob Becker, a Schoharie Militiaman*. 428-430 Jephtha R. Simm's "History of Schoharie County," 1845.

lars and militia, concentrating upon him, Sir John had simply to look to the safety of his command. He retreated by a route parallel to the Mohawk River and to the south of it, passed the Oneida Castle on the creek of the same name, the present boundary between Madison and Oneida Counties; and made for Canaseraga, where he had left his batteaux. Meanwhile van Rensselaer had dispatched an express to Fort Schuyler or Stanwix, now Rome, ordering Captain Vrooman, with a strong detachment from the garrison, to push on ahead as quickly as possible and destroy Sir John's little flotilla. A deserter frustrated Burgoyne's last and best chance to escape. Two Oneida Indians, always unreliable in this war, revealed the approach of Sir John, and by alarming saved the forts in the Schoharie valley. And now another such chance enabled Sir John to save his boats and punish the attempt made to destroy them. One of Captain Vrooman's men fell sick, or pretended to fall sick, at Oneida Castle ("Hist. Madison Co.," 656, &c.), and was left behind. Soon after, Sir John arrived, and learned from the invalid the whole plan. Thereupon he sent forward Brant and his Indians, with a detachment of Butler's Rangers, who came upon Vrooman's detachment taking their midday meal, 23d November, 1780, and "gobbled" the whole party. Not a shot was fired, and Captain Vrooman and his men were carried off prisoners in the very boats they were dispatched to destroy.

If any reader supposes that this invasion of Sir John Johnson's was a simple predatory expedition, he has been kept in ignorance of the truth through the idiosyncrasies

of American writers. It was their purpose to malign Sir John, and they have admirably succeeded in doing so. Sir John Johnson's expedition was a part of a grand strategic plan, based upon the topography of the country, which rendered certain lines of operation inevitable. Ever since the English built a fort at Oswego, as a menace to the French then in possession of Canada, this port and Niagara were bases for hostile movements against Canada. Pitt's great plan, the conquest of New France in 1759, contemplated a triple attack: down Lake Champlain, across from Oswego, and up the St. Lawrence. The Burgoyne campaign in 1777 was predicated on the same idea: Burgoyne up Champlain, St. Leger from Oswego down the Mohawk, and Howe up the Hudson. Clinton's plan for the fall of 1780 was almost identical, although everything hinged on the success of Arnold's treason and his delivering up West Point. Clinton himself was to play the part Howe should have done and ascend the Hudson. Colonel Carleton was to imitate Burgoyne on a smaller scale, and move up Champlain to attract attention in that direction; and Sir John was to repeat the St. Leger movement of 1777, and invade the Mohawk valley. Arnold's failure frustrated Clinton's movement. Carleton at best was to demonstrate, because the ambiguity (or consistent self-seeking) of Vermont rendered a more numerous column unnecessary. As it was, he penetrated to the Hudson, and took Fort Anne. Haldimand's nervousness about a French attack upon Canada made him timid about detaching a sufficient force with Sir John. Moreover, the British

regulars were very unwilling to accompany this bold partisan, whose energy insured enormous hardship, labor and suffering to his followers, to which regulars, more particularly German mercenaries, were especially averse. Von Eelking informs us of this, and furthermore that a terrible mutiny came very near breaking out among the British troops under Johnson in the succeeding June, when Haldimand proposed to send Sir John on another expedition against Pittsburg. The plan of the mutineers (von Eelking, II., 197) was to fall upon the British officers in their quarters and murder them all. The complot was discovered, but it was politic to hush the whole matter up, which was accordingly done. Doubtless there was hanging or shooting and punishment enough, but it was inflicted quietly. These were the reasons that the invasion which was to have been headed by Sir John Johnson was converted into a destructive raid, and this explains why Sir John was so weak-handed that he could not dispose of van Rensselaer on Klock's Field as completely as he annihilated Brown in Stone Arabia.

Finally, to divest Sir John Johnson's expedition of the character of a mere raid, it is only necessary to compare some dates. Arnold's negotiations with Sir Henry Clinton came to a head about the middle of September. It was not settled until the 21st-22d of that month. It is not consistent with probability that Haldimand in Canada was ignorant that a combined movement was contemplated. To justify this conclusion, von Eelking states (II., 195) that three expeditions, with distant objectives, started from

Quebec about the "middle of September,"—the very time when Clinton and Arnold were concluding their bargain ;—the first, under Sir John Johnson, into the Schoharie and Mohawk vallies ; the second, under Major Carleton, which took Forts Anne and George, towards Albany ; and the third, under Colonel Carleton, reversing the direction of the route followed by Arnold in 1775.

The time necessary to bring Sir John into middle New York, making due allowances for obstacles, was about coincident with the date calculated for the surrender of West Point. Arnold made his escape on the 25th of September. Andre was arrested on the 23d of September, and was executed on the 2d of October following. Major Carleton came up Lake Champlain, and appeared before Fort Anne on the 10th of October (Hough's "Northern Invasion," I., 43), Major Houghton (*Ibid*, 146) simultaneously fell upon the upper settlements of the Connecticut Valley ; and Major Munro, a Loyalist, started with the intention—it is believed—of surprising Schenectady ; but, for reasons now unknown, stopped short at Ballston, attacked this settlement on midnight of the 16th of October, and then retired, carrying off a number of prisoners. Such a coincidence of concentrating attacks from four or five different quarters by as many different routes could not have been the result of accident. Circumstances indicate that Sir Henry Clinton was first to move in force upon West Point, and make himself master of it through the treasonable dispositions of Arnold. This would have riveted the attention of the whole country. Troops would have been hurried from all

quarters towards the Highlands, and the whole territory around Albany denuded of defenders. Thus it was expected that Sir John would have solved the problem which St. Leger failed to do in 1777. Meanwhile, the Carletons, certain of the neutrality of Vermont, whose hostilities had been so effective in 1777, would have captured all the posts on the upper Hudson. In this way the great plan, which failed in 1777, was to be accomplished in 1780. Thousands of timid Loyalists would have sprung to arms to support Sir John and Clinton, and the severance of the Eastern from the Middle States completed, and perfect communication established between New York and Montreal. It would have taken but very little time for Clinton to double his force from Loyal elements along the whole course of the Hudson, as can be demonstrated from records, admissions and letters of the times. The majority of the people were tired of the war, and even Washington despaired. On the 17th October, 1780, Governor Clinton wrote to General Washington: "*This enterprise of the enemy [Sir John Johnson] is probably the effect of Arnold's treason.*" On the 21st of the same month General Washington, addressing the President of the Continental Congress, wrote: "*It is thought, and perhaps not without foundation, that this incursion was made [by Sir John Johnson] upon the supposition that Arnold's treachery had succeeded.*"

If Arnold's treason had not been discovered in time, the name of Sir John Johnson might stand to-day in history in the same class beside that of Wolfe, instead of be-

ing branded as it has been by virulence, and worse, in many cases, by direct misrepresentation.

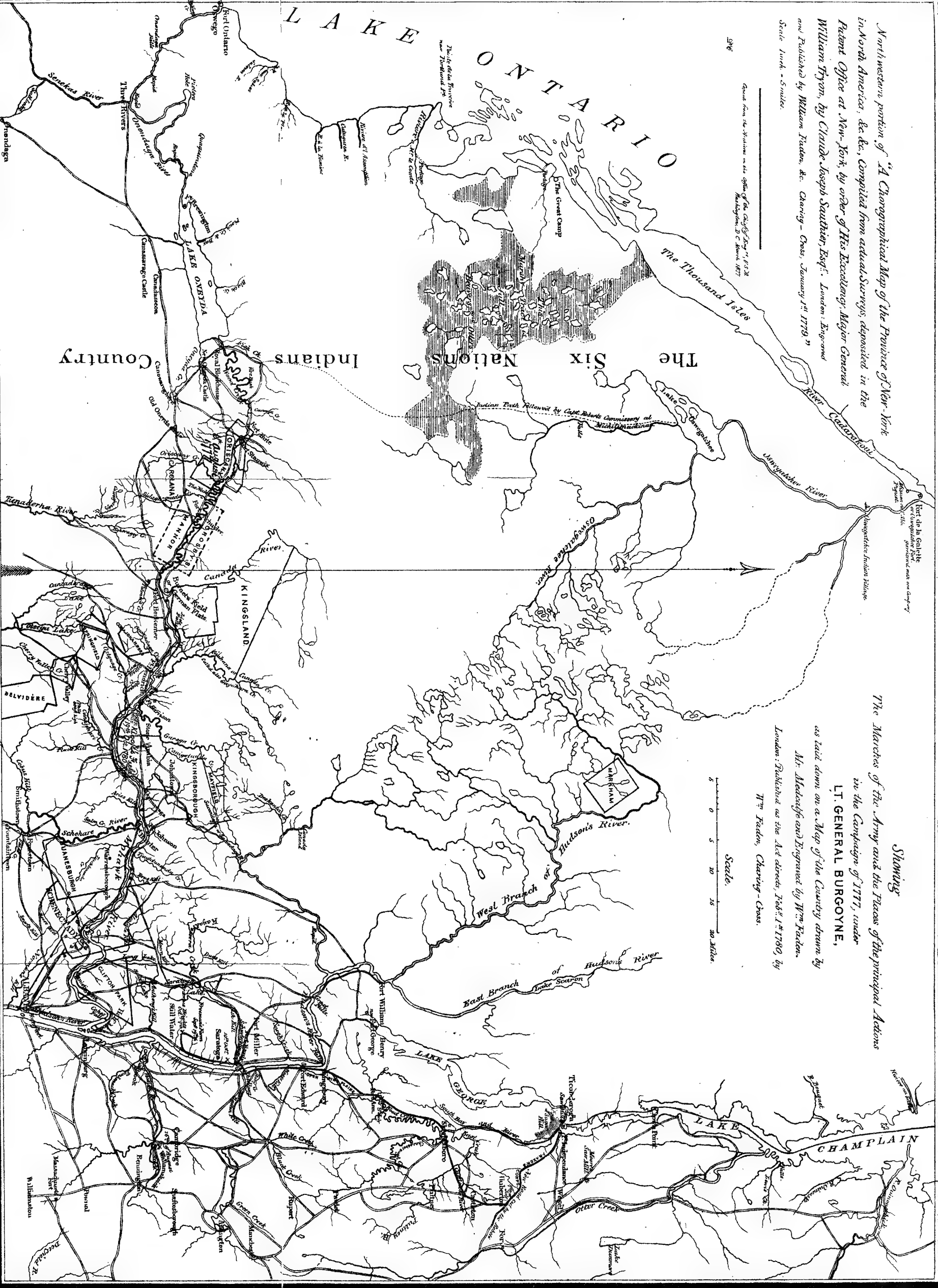
“Success is the test of merit,” said the unfortunate Rebel General Albert Sydney Johnson—“a hard rule,” he added, “but a just one.” It is both *hard* and UNJUST, and were courage, merit, self-devotion and exposure to suffering and peril the test, and NOT *success*, there are few men who would stand higher to-day in military annals than Sir JOHN JOHNSON.



Northwestern portion of "A Chronographical Map of the Province of New-York in North America, &c. &c., Compiled from actual Surveys, deposited in the Patent Office at New-York, by order of His Excellency, Major General William Tryon, by Claude Joseph Sauthier, Esq.: London: Bingham and Published by William Taden, &c. Charing - Cross, January 1st 1779."

Scale: 1 inch = 5 miles.

Drawn from the Surveys in the Office of the Chief Surveyor, 1755 &c. Washington, D. C. March 1877



Showing
 The Marches of the Army and the Places of the principal Actions
 in the Campaign of 1777, under
 LT. GENERAL BURGOYNE,
 as laid down on a Map of the Country drawn by
 Mr. Melancthon and Engraved by Wm. Taden.
 London: Published as the Act directs, Feb. 1st 1780, by
 Wm. Taden, Charing - Cross.

Scale.
 5 10 15 20 Miles.

Prepared for 13 crew: May: 600: 9: 11: 12: 13: 14: 15: 16: 17: 18: 19: 20: 21: 22: 23: 24: 25: 26: 27: 28: 29: 30: 31: 32: 33: 34: 35: 36: 37: 38: 39: 40: 41: 42: 43: 44: 45: 46: 47: 48: 49: 50: 51: 52: 53: 54: 55: 56: 57: 58: 59: 60: 61: 62: 63: 64: 65: 66: 67: 68: 69: 70: 71: 72: 73: 74: 75: 76: 77: 78: 79: 80: 81: 82: 83: 84: 85: 86: 87: 88: 89: 90: 91: 92: 93: 94: 95: 96: 97: 98: 99: 100: 101: 102: 103: 104: 105: 106: 107: 108: 109: 110: 111: 112: 113: 114: 115: 116: 117: 118: 119: 120: 121: 122: 123: 124: 125: 126: 127: 128: 129: 130: 131: 132: 133: 134: 135: 136: 137: 138: 139: 140: 141: 142: 143: 144: 145: 146: 147: 148: 149: 150: 151: 152: 153: 154: 155: 156: 157: 158: 159: 160: 161: 162: 163: 164: 165: 166: 167: 168: 169: 170: 171: 172: 173: 174: 175: 176: 177: 178: 179: 180: 181: 182: 183: 184: 185: 186: 187: 188: 189: 190: 191: 192: 193: 194: 195: 196: 197: 198: 199: 200: 201: 202: 203: 204: 205: 206: 207: 208: 209: 210: 211: 212: 213: 214: 215: 216: 217: 218: 219: 220: 221: 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Panics

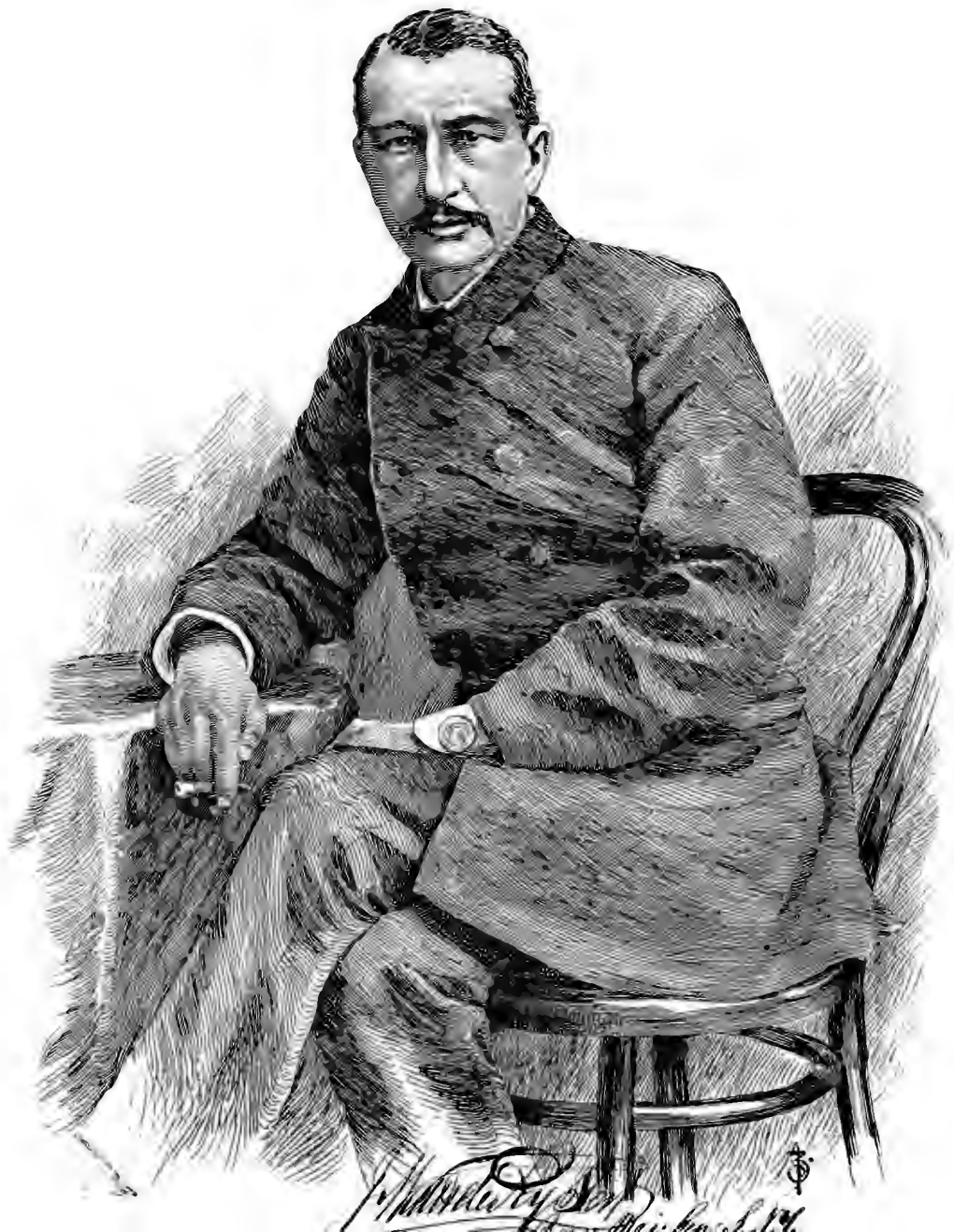
have occurred, not only among *Militia* and *Irregulars*, but in *REGULAR* Armies, subjected, in appearance, to the highest state of discipline and the most severe of military codes. These panics are not only incomprehensible, but infinitely more disgraceful than the worst which has been attributed to *Militia*—even American *Militia*, such as the KLOCK'S *FIELD tohu-bohu* in 1780; the Bladensburg Races in 1814; and the dissolution of the Union forces at Bull Run I., in 1861. Nothing, however, can approach what took place in the Austrian army under Joseph II., in 1788. It almost transcends belief, and it might be deemed incredible, if it was not recorded in the following language by the veteran French Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, in his "The Present State of the Turkish Empire," translated by Lt.-Col. Sir Frederick Smith, K. H., Royal British Engineers, London, 1839, pp. xx.-xxiv., "Introduction."

"At Karansebes (on the Temes, 50 miles S. E. of Temesvar, just S. of the Iron Gates Pass) we are reminded of the lamentable catastrophe [Cust's *Annals of the Wars*," I., iv., 29-30] that befell the troops of Austria, in September, 1788, near this place, in the latter wars [1788-'90] between that power and Turkey.

"Joseph the Second afforded on this occasion a remarkable instance of the misfortunes which a monarch may bring upon his people by overrating his qualifications as a military commander; for, though personally brave, he seemed, when the lives of others depended on his decision, to be deficient in that moral courage and presence of mind which are indispensable in a general; yet he evinced great resolution, as well as indefatigable industry in conducting the civil affairs of the state, and unquestionably possessed superior talent. His political acts have been the subject of much discussion; how far they may be deserving of praise or censure this is not the place to enquire; but it is impossible to deny that the views of this monarch were directed to promoting the welfare of his country. By moving in advance of public opinion, and by promptly effecting those changes in the national institutions which the circumstances of the times seemed to demand, he nipped in the bud, so far as his own dominions were concerned, the revolutions that threatened Austria as well as the rest of Europe.

"In 1789 [1788 ?], Joseph, having collected together 80,000 men, for the purpose of attacking the Turks, established his camp near Karansbes. The Turks were in a position opposite to the Austrian army, and so placed as to cover the province of Wallachia. All was prepared for the attack; the generals were assembled in the tent of the Emperor to receive their orders, and everything appeared to promise success to the Austrian army; but Joseph, feeling a degree of disquietude respecting the result, asked Marshal Lascy if he felt sure of beating the enemy. The Marshal replied, as any sensible [?] man would have done, under similar circumstances, that he hoped for victory, but that he could not absolutely guarantee it. Unhappily this answer so discouraged Joseph [where were his own resolution and brains ?] that he immediately abandoned the intention of attacking the Turks, and resolved to retire behind the Temes.

"The plan of retreat was arranged, and the army was formed in parallel columns, the infantry being placed in the centre, the cavalry on the flanks, and the baggage in the intervals. The Austrians commenced their march at midnight, but shortly afterwards Marshal Lascy, discovering that the order had not been issued for withdrawing the piquets of the left wing, supplied the omission, and suddenly halted the main body to wait for these detachments. [Something similar occurred on the night of 15th December, 1862, when the left wing of the Union army withdrew from before the Rebels, after the disastrous failure of the attack of the 13th, preceding.] The word of command, to 'halt,' was given and repeated in the usual manner; but, being mistaken for the word 'Allah,' which the Turks are in the habit of shouting when about to fall upon their enemies, many of the Austrian troops believed that they were attacked. This was the case with the drivers of the tumbrils, who, seized with panic, put their horses into a trot, in the hope of escaping. The infantry, supposing the noise made by these carriages to be caused by the charge of the enemy, commenced firing in all directions. The havoc they thus created in their own ranks was so great, that no less than 10,000 men are said to have been killed or wounded during the darkness of the night. At daylight the mistake was discovered, and the Austrian army then retreated to the position the Emperor had intended to take up behind the Temes. If, instead of giving way to his alarm, Joseph had attacked the enemy, it is probable that he would have obtained possession of Wallachia without losing more than 3,000 or 4,000 men. As it was, he not only lost 10,000 by the disaster above mentioned, and 20,000 by sickness, which was the consequence of a prolonged occupation of an unhealthy tract of country, but he raised the courage of the Turks, and thereby deprived his own troops of the confidence they had previously reposed both in him and in themselves."





L'Envoi.

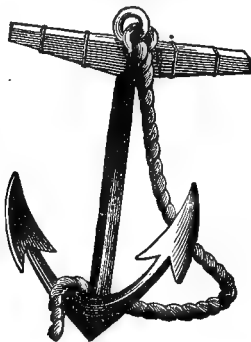
The preceding pages are the result of a promise, made in haste and repented at leisure ; but kept to the letter, as man's word of honor should be, at whatever cost it may be to him. Reflection soon led to regret that the pledge had ever been given ; because, as a friend wisely observed, "the people of this country have sucked in fiction as fact with their mothers' milk, and no amount of reason could reverse the verdict of success, however obtained." No philosopher believes in the judgment of the people, so styled—the people, as usually understood, are the simple dupes and pack and prey of the bold and the designing, who possess the serpent guile of pandering to their lusts and to their passions. There is a PEOPLE, invisible but influential, running through every portion of the body politic, like the mysterious sympathetic nerve on which vitalization depends. This people is that portion of the community referred to when Elijah said, "I, even I only, am left ;" and God answered that he had reserved to himself seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal nor worshipped him. Unfortunately this minority entertain opinions which, for their own preservation, discretion teaches them to keep

out of sight as much as possible. They are like the Jews of the Middle Ages, who had to conceal their riches, lest the people, so called, by violence then, by votes now, should "go for them," make a raid upon their dwellings, and "rabble" them. Once in a while a bold exponent of the ideas of the minority comes forward, like an Arnold of Brescia, a Savonarola, a Huss, a Zwingli or a Luther, and inaugurates a moral revolution, generally with fatal and terrible effect to himself: for instance, the first three were burned at the stake, and Zwingli was murdered on the battlefield. Luther, thanks to the ægis of Providence, died a natural death, but lived long enough to feel the disgust that invades the bosom of every able and true man who reaches the period when the decay of the bodily faculties—that is, of the resistive and recuperative powers—begins to quench the hopes and illusions which, with few rarely continue to exist when the downward road becomes rough and steep. The people, so styled, the masses, are to-day what they were a thousand, yes thousands of years ago, the obtuse instruments of wicked minds. "*Panem et Circenses*" (Food and Pleasure) was and is and ever will be their watchword: their bellies and their eyes; in our days, their ears. All great men see through the utter emptiness of popular applause, although few, like William III., have the cold, caustic cynicism to express the conviction publicly. When the mob received him with cheers, he simply remarked, the same class that cries "Hosanna" to-day will shout "Crucify him" to-morrow. Bold, bad men, with serpents' intellects and

oily tongues or versatile pens, like our successful politicians or popular favorites of the press, conduct or excite the "many headed" at their pleasure. The verdict of the people, "by a vast majority," recalls the anecdote of the lamented wit, Arthur Gilman, recently deceased, in regard to Colonel Yell, of Yellville, a member of one of the southwestern legislatures. The Yellville Bank had gone up suddenly, and the funds had disappeared under the receivership of the said colonel. For this the Honorable Kurnel Yell was called upon for an explanation. In a speech, as involved as one of the calculated deceptive utterances of Cromwell, the colonel furnished no clue to the disappearance of the assets of the Bank, or the particular pockets into which they had eventually found their winding way; but he covered his tracks, and awakened the enthusiasm of the Legislature and crowded galleries by a hifalutin (high-for-newton) glorification of the Stars and Stripes "that was kalkerlated to stir the heart of the most fastidious." Pronounce an oration or write a book or article thunderous with citations of the "patriot sires;" shout out or italicize "Bunker Hill! Old Put! Valley Forge! Brutal Butchers! Washington, the Father of his Country! Traitor Arnold!" and "the Captors of Andre," at judicious intervals; abuse "the mother country," multiply the virtues which do not exist in the audience, and a triumph inevitably must ensue. Endeavor honestly to tell the plain unvarnished truth, and hold the mirror up to nature, and the result is either the silence of contemptuous might or inconsequent stupidity, or a storm such as furnishes the speaker

or writer with a full realization of the vulgar but expressive proverb of "having as good a chance as a specimen of the feline genus without claws in the dominion of Abaddon."

The preceding pages were furnished solely to oblige a diligent fellow-laborer and a prospector in the historical mining wilderness of the American Revolution. While the writer holds himself responsible for his facts and opinions, he wishes it to be perfectly understood that he has nothing to do with the publication itself and the profits of the conjoint work of W. L. STONE and of himself. The pages numbered with letters comprise his labors, and, having turned them over to MR. STONE, subscribers must consider that the writer's responsibility ends then and there and their business relations are altogether with the Editor of "Sir John Johnson's Orderly Book."



Orderly Book
Sir John Johnson
1776



INTRODUCTION.



ON December, 1776, Burgoyne, dissatisfied with his subordinate position under Carleton, concocted with the British Ministry a plan for the Campaign of 1777. An army, admirably appointed and under his command, was to proceed to Albany, by way of Lakes Champlain and George; while another large force, under Sir William Howe, was to advance up the Hudson in order to cut off communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies, in the expectation that each section, being left to itself, would be subdued with little difficulty. Contemporaneously with the descent of Burgoyne upon Northern New York, Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger, with the Loyalists and Indians under Sir

John Johnson and Joseph Brant respectively, was dispatched by that general from Montreal by the way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to Oswego. From that post, St. Leger, availing himself of Oneida Lake and Wood Creek, was to penetrate the country to the Mohawk river, with a view of forming a junction from that direction with Burgoyne on the latter's arrival at Albany. As is well known, the progress of Colonel St. Leger was stopped at Fort Stanwix; the advance of Arnold, despatched by Schuyler, compelling him to raise the siege of that Fort and retreat into Canada—a circumstance which left Schuyler and, later, Gates, free to concentrate the American forces in opposition to the advancing army of Burgoyne.

Conversing in the fall of 1880, with the late Rev. Marinus Willett¹ of Port Chester, N. Y., a grandson of Colonel Marinus Willett, of Fort Stanwix fame, he mentioned to me that he was the possessor of a manuscript Orderly Book kept by an officer of Sir John Johnson during his campaign against Fort Stanwix in 1777—one of the Orderly Books captured by his grandfather in his memorable sortie from Fort

¹ For sketches of Rev. Marinus Willett, and Col. Marinus Willett, see appendices Nos. I and II.

Stanwix against the camp of Sir John Johnson. The facts of this sortie (which, it will be remembered, took place while the battle of Oriskany was in progress), are told by Col. Willett in his Narrative in these words—which, as the book has now become exceedingly rare, we quote :

“ Col. Willett lost not a moment in sallying forth from the gate of the fort. As the enemy’s sentries were directly in sight of the fort, his movements were necessarily very rapid. The enemy’s sentries were driven in, and their advanced guard attacked, before they had time to form the troops. Sir John Johnson, whose regiment was not two hundred yards distant from the advanced guard, and who, himself, it being very warm, was in his tent with his coat off, had not time to put it on before his camp was forced. So sudden and rapid was the attack, that the enemy had not time to form so as to make any opposition to the torrent that poured in upon them. Flight, therefore, was their only resource. Adjoining the camp of Sir John Johnson was that of the Indians. This, also, was soon taken ; so that a very few minutes put Col. Willett in possession of both these encampments. Sir John

with his troops took to the river, and the Indians fled into the woods. The troops under Col. Willett had fair firing at the enemy while they were crossing the river. The quantity of camp equipage, clothing, blankets and stores, which Col. Willett found in the two camps, rendered it necessary to hasten a messenger to the fort and have the wagons sent, seven of which were stored in the fort with horses. These wagons were each three times loaded, while Col. Willett and his men remained in the camps of the enemy. Among other articles, they found five British flags; the baggage of Sir John Johnson, with all his papers; the baggage of a number of other officers, with memoranda, journals, and orderly books, containing all the information which could be desired.”¹

Mr. Willett agreed with me that the contents of the Orderly Book should be put into permanent form to provide against its loss by fire or other casualties; and he thereupon kindly loaned it to me to copy and publish in the *Magazine of American History*. The Orderly Book was accordingly printed in that valuable publication in the March and April numbers for 1881, though

¹ For an account of this sortie from the British stand-point, see Appendix No. III.

with but very few annotations, as neither space nor time permitted extended notes.

This Orderly Book is of great value in several particulars. It shows, the intimate relation which existed between the campaign of Gen. Burgoyne and the expedition of Col. Barry St. Leger—as, for example, the order given at Lachine on the 20th of June, that the officers under St. Leger and Johnson should send their baggage to Albany in the train of Burgoyne; it establishes the exact number of men engaged in the expedition by the quantity of rations issued and the boats required, by which we find that instead of St. Leger having (as has always been believed) 1700 men, he had barely 950, Indians included; it states the names of the detachments from the different regiments which formed the expedition, by which we learn, among other items, that Sir John Johnson's regiment never, in a single instance, in this Orderly Book, although elsewhere invariably known as such, is called "The Royal Greens;" it affords the means of knowing the true rank held by different officers—as, for example, "Major" Watts is never spoken of save as "Captain;" it elucidates a mooted question as to

the rank of Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger, who was made an acting Brig. Gen. on this occasion; and it develops the fact that possibly a part, at least, of St. Leger's troops joined the army of General Burgoyne, after that officer and Sir John had retreated into Canada, the laughing-stock of their Indian allies. These, as well as many other instances, will make apparent the value of the Orderly Book to the student of our Revolutionary annals.

There is another feature of this Orderly Book which has, I think, a touching significance. I allude to the character of the Paroles and Countersigns. A glance at them shows that they are, in many instances, the names of towns in Ireland, Scotland and England—the homes, undoubtedly, of many of the troops composing this Expedition; and there can be no question that those having in charge the selection of the Paroles and Countersigns for each day, took special pains to designate those towns which would remind their men of the loved ones they had left behind. *Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* This action, on the part of the officers, very likely arose from policy as well

as sentiment ; for one can well imagine that the names of their homes would vividly bring to the minds of the soldiers those who across the broad Atlantic were watching for reports of their progress and valor — thus presenting them with a constant as well as an additional incentive to do well. Some of the Countersigns, moreover, such as “ Cork,” “ Limerick ” and “ Kinsale ” would naturally bring to the minds of the men of the 8th or King’s Regiment of Foot, the fact that their own Regiment was present under William the III, at the beseiging of those places — a circumstance which, in itself, would be an incentive to great deeds.

The Orderly Book is written in many different handwritings, some so bad as to be nearly undecipherable — not from the lapse of time, for the book is exceedingly well preserved in its parchment cover — but from the fact that some of the writers evidently spelled by sound, and were obliged, amid the fatigues of camp life, to take down hurriedly the words of the commanding officer. Indeed, the wonder is that, under such circumstances, anything was written that could be at all deciphered. It should be further stated that while the general spelling and the names of

towns and places have been corrected, the variations in spelling of the proper names of persons have been in nearly all cases preserved. It will also be noticed that the last order is dated at "Oswego Falls," the 31st of July, 1777, two days previous to the advance of St. Leger's army appearing before the walls of Fort Stanwix, and six days before the battle of Oriskany.

Before closing, I desire to acknowledge the kind assistance which has been given me, in the way of suggestions, by my old College mates and friends, Mr. Franklin Burdge of New York city, the accomplished author of "Simon Boerum;" Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, the scholarly editor of "Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War;" General John Watts de Peyster, the brilliant military critic; and General Horatio Rogers of Providence, R. I., who is now engaged in annotating the Manuscript Journal of Lieutenant Hadden of the Royal Artillery, kept by him while an artillery officer in Canada and under Burgoyne. General Rogers brings to his task a comprehensive knowledge of his subject, great conscientiousness, and powers

of thorough research—traits which cannot fail to make his work, when published, an invaluable contribution to our Revolutionary history.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

Jersey City Heights, N. J.,

May, 1882.

K E Y
TO THE ABBREVIATIONS IN THE
ORDERLY BOOK.

- C. (before a proper name) - Countersign.
C. (in a guard detail) - - Corporal.
D. - - - - - Drum or drummer.
G. O. - - - - - General order.
K. R. R. N. Y. - - - King's Royal Reg't
of New York, Sir
John Johnson's
Reg't.
L. - - - - - Lieutenant.
P. (before a proper name) - Paroled.
P. and Pt. (in a guard detail) Privates.
S. - - - - - Sergeant.



ORDERLY BOOK

FOR

LIEUT. COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMPANY¹

1776-1777

COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMMAND



AM'L Street, Sergt.; Sam'l Moss,
Sergt.; John Boice, Sergt.; Mc-
Grigor, Sergt. Corpl. Crowse,
Corpl. McGrigor, Corpl. Russell,
Corpl. Cook, Sergt. Hillyer, Corpl. Smith, Corpl.
Campbell, Sergt. Andw. Young, Lieut. Singleton,
Ens. Byrne, Ens. Crothers, Ens. Crofford, Ens.
Hysted.

¹ ALTHOUGH this title purports to be only the "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson's Company" (all right flank companies were considered as commanded by colonels as honorary captains but in reality were commanded by a captain lieutenant ranking after full captains), yet the Book, in the various orders issued, is, of course, a reflex of the daily history of the different regiments engaged in the Expedition. These may be classified as follows:

1st. "The 34th Regiment." This was St. Leger's own Regiment. It was formed in 1702 in Norfolk, Essex and adjoining counties; and the date of the first colonel's commission was Feb. 12th, 1702. Its uniform was red, faced with pale yellow.

2d. "The King's Royal Regiment of New York" otherwise called "The Queen's Loyal New Yorkers," "Sir John Johnson's Regiment," and unofficially by contemporaneous writers, "Johnson's

LA PRAIRIE.¹

1776 4th Novemr. *Parole*, London. *Counter-sign*, Cork. For Guard tomorrow Lt. Walker,

Royal Greens" from the color of their coats. All Provincial Regiments, however, were originally dressed in green, and afterwards in red like regulars. This Regiment was made up of the disaffected Tories and Loyalists of the Mohawk Valley, being recruited chiefly from Sir John's friends and neighbors; and whenever, in the Orderly Book, "The Regiment" simply is mentioned, this one is alone referred to.

3d. A portion of the 8th Regiment, or "King's Regiment of Foot," which was stationed in detachments along the Western Lakes at what were called the Upper Posts, i. e., those the most remote from Quebec, such as Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, etc. For a sketch of this Regiment see note in advance.

4th. "Butler's Tory Rangers," under the command of Lieut. Col. John Butler, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson, and who with his men had lately arrived at Oswego from Niagara to take part in the Expedition.

5th. One company of the "Hanau Chasseurs," picked riflemen and trained and skillful soldiers.

6th. One company of Canadians carrying broad axes to cut roads through the woods for the artillery.

7th. The Indians composed of the Missisagües (a clan of the Hurons) and a few of the Six Nations under the immediate command of Col. Daniel Claus and Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea).

8th. The artillery which consisted of such pieces as could easily be transported in boats, and which was made up, according to Col. Claus's letter to Secretary Knox of Oct. 16, 1777, of two six pounders, two threes, and four cohorns or small mortars, especially designated from Whitehall.

¹ LA PRAIRIE de la Magdelaine (Seig-

niory) is situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence in the county of Huntingdon, L. C. This tract was granted, on the 1st of April, 1647, to the Order of Jesuits whose possessions were once so large and valuable within that province. On the death of the last of that order settled in Canada, it devolved on the Crown, to whom it now belongs. In front of the Seigniory is the village of La Nativite de Notre Dame, or La Prairie, formerly called Fort La Prairie from having once had a rude defence thrown up to protect it from the surprises or open attacks of the Iroquois or Six Nations who possessed the country in its vicinity. Such posts were established in many places in the early periods of the colony, while the Indians remained sufficiently powerful to resist the encroachments of the settlers. At present, none of them retain, either in Canada or the United States, a vestige of their ancient form, while but very few possess even the name by which they were originally known. The position of La Prairie was at this time extremely favorable for military operations, from the numerous roads that diverge from it in different directions, and particularly on account of its being the point where communication could be made to Montreal and thence with the main road leading to St. John's, and thence again, by Lake Champlain to the American colonies. This was the route taken by Burgoyne. Indeed, from its contiguity to the line of boundary separating Canada from the United States, this part of the district was fated to bear the brunt of war against the Lower Province; and in 1812, a British corps of observation was encamped towards the centre of La Prairie to watch the motions of Gen. Dearborn, who had there assembled a considerable force on the frontiers.

2 Sergets, 2 Corporals, 1 Drumr & 15 Privates. The Kings' Royal Regt of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to leave this Quarter Immediately.

1776 7th Nov. *P. Lachine. C. Point Clair.* Major Gray.¹ Capts Brown & Delly, with their Compns to march off Immediately to Point Clair & to be Quartered as follows: The Major & Capt Delly, with their Companies at Point Clair & Capt Brown With a Detachment of a Serget and ten from the Cols Compy, a Corporal & 4 Men from Capt Watts and Capt McDonald's Comps to be at St. Anns, the Cols Comps and Capt Watts, together with the Staff to be Quartered in the Parish of Lachine in the following manner. The (lower) Capt Watt's in the Upper parts of the Parish of Lachine. For Guard tomorrow 1 S. 1 C. & 9 men. Compns duty 1 S. 1 C. 5 P.

LACHINE.²

1776 8th November. *P. McLou. C. Phil-*

¹ At the time that Sir John Johnson, in 1776, was forced to fly into Canada, Major Gray, then lieutenant of the 42d, helped to raise the faithful body-guard of one hundred and thirty Highlanders that accompanied him. Indeed, throughout this Orderly Book, one can see that the name "Sir John Johnson's Regiment" is well deserved; for its colonel evidently chose for its officers those of his friends whom he knew by personal experience were staunch and could be relied upon in all emergencies.

² LA CHINE, one of the nine Parishes into which the island of Montreal is divided, is a post-village nine miles southwest of the city of Montreal, and is situated directly opposite to the Caughnawaga village. It is built on a fine gravelly beach, at the head of Lake St. Louis, which is a broad part of the St. Lawrence River. At the time of the American Revolution, it contained very extensive store-houses, belonging to the King of Great Britain, in which were deposited the presents for the Indians as

ips. For Guard tomorrow, 1 Serg. 1 Corporal and 9 privates.

1776 9th Novmr. *P. Carick. C. Cork.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Corp & 4 Privates.

1776 10th Novmr. *P. Gray. C. Week.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Corp, & 4 Privt. It is the Commanding officer's ords, that Capt. Watts's Comps hold themselves in readiness to March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 9 o'clock where they shall receive provisions—Capt Daly's Comp are to Receive Provisions at Lachine,

1776 12th November, *P. Drogheda. C. Clonmell.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Corpl. & 4 men. The Commanding officer desires that the men assist the Inhabitants in whose houses they are Quartered, in cutting fire-wood for their own use this winter.

As soon as they were received from England. It is the centre of commerce between Upper and Lower Canada; and boats for the North-west Territory start from here. A railroad now connects La Chine with Montreal; also, a canal to avoid the rapids of St. Louis. It is a place of considerable importance, and consists, besides private dwellings, of a number of store and ware-houses. There is, also, a large dry-dock for the repairing of the bateaux.

It further derives importance, in this connection, from the fact that Sir John Johnson's Regiment was concentrated at La Chine, June 1st, 1777, when St. Leger joined it with the detail of his own regiment, the 34th. In fact, La Chine was the rallying, or rather, perhaps, the starting point of St. Leger's Expedition, as the detachment of the 8th did not join St. Leger until it reached a

more western point, probably Oswego. Capt. Rouvill's company of Canadians joined at La Chine; and on the 21st of June (as appears by the Orderly Book) St. Leger left La Chine. On that or the next day, Jessup's Corps proceeded (probably by water) to join Burgoyne's force, which rendezvoused at St. John's. The Standard of England was hoisted on the "Radeau" (a floating battery on a sort of raft-like vessel), and saluted the forts and fleet on June 13 at St. John's; and on the 16th the fleet slowly started up the Richelieu or St. John's river, being joined on its slow progress the first few days by the troops that were to take part in Burgoyne's Expedition. It will thus appear, that St. Leger and Burgoyne got off practically at the same time from the neighborhood of Montreal.

¹ One wonders whether, when the names of "Drogheda" and "Clonmell"

1776 31st December. *P. Howe. C. Carleton.*
For guard tomorrow, 1 Serg. and 6 men. Ens.
Crawford officer of the day. The two Com-
panys that are Cantoned here, to hold themselves
in Readiness to march towards Point Clair Thurs-
day next if the weather permit.

1777 4th January. *P. London. C. Edinburgh.*
For Guard tomorrow 1 Sergeant & 6 privates.
Ens. Crawford, officer of the day.

ORDERLY PROVOST M.

The Camp Equipage to be examined & kept
in good condition—The troops, likewise, will
hold themselves in readiness to march on the
Shortest Notice; they are frequently to be as-
sembled on their Regimental Alarm-Posts, &
March to the Alarm-Post of the Brigade when

were announced to the troops, as the
pass-words of the day, the Irish soldiers
recalled the fact, that those two towns, a
little more than a century before, had
been the scenes of Cromwell's most bril-
liant victories and greatest atrocities—and,
also, whether from the stand-point of
their nationality, they remembered that
it was a war waged by the "Great Pro-
tector" against *their* freedom! and, if
so, did they, as they lay in their tents
that night, reflecting on the order, draw
a parallel between the fact that their em-
ployer (England) was now making them
the instruments for subordinating a peo-
ple, also struggling for their liberties?
The town of Clonmell, especially,
should have recalled these things to their
minds. That town still bears the marks
of Cromwell's siege. The old castle in
the centre of the town, which for eight
days successfully resisted the cannon of

the Protector, can to-day easily be dis-
tinguished from the more modern por-
tion, by its masonry. There is, also, the
"West Gate" which yet shows the
marks of Cromwell's bombardment.
The surrounding country is beautiful (as
I can testify from personal observation);
and on the river Lair, on which stands
the town, some of the finest butter in
Ireland is made. Clonmell, also, is the
capital of the county of Tipperary
which is remarkable for its political in-
dependence of thought and action; many
instances having occurred where citizens,
imprisoned for political offences, were
elected to Parliament while in jail with-
out any expense to them, and against the
combined opposition of the Government,
landlords, and a majority of the priests.
O'Donovan Rossa, for instance, was an
example of this kind.

the Weather will permit—They will practice Marching on Snow-Shoes, as soon as they receive them.¹ Reports are to be made by all the British to Major General Philips,² and by all the Germans to Major General Riedesel where the alarm Posts are, both of the Regiments and the Brigades in order to be forwarded to the Commander in Chief—A Statement likewise to be given in of the Camp Equipage—Reports are also to be made to the Quarter Master Genl at Montreal from each Corps of the Number of Boats they

¹ This practicing on snow-shoes undoubtedly originated with General Riedesel. Indeed, he alone of all the generals sent out by the mother country seems to have put aside tactics fitted only for a parade in Hyde Park or for maneuvering on the plains of Flanders, and adopted such drilling as would best suit the changed condition of affairs. Indeed, during the time Riedesel was in Canada with the "Brunswick Contingent" he, with the practical strategy and acuteness of observation which always distinguished him, had employed himself in drilling his men to meet the style of fighting adopted by the Americans. Thus, in one of his letters, he writes, "I perceived that the American riflemen always shot further than our forces—consequently, I made my men practice at long range, and from behind bushes and trees, that they might be enough for them." *Stone's Life and Journals of General Riedesel.*

In the same way, as will be seen further on, St. Leger insists upon his troops employing their spare moments in practicing at a mark. Both Riedesel and St. Leger were thus only *anticipating Creedmoor.*

² Major General William Phillips was appointed captain of artillery, May 12th, 1756; and brevet lieut. colonel in 1760. In 1776, having already become distinguished as an artillery officer, and given proof of exceptional strategical skill, he was appointed major general in Burgoyne's Expedition. At the battle of the 19th of September, 1777, he greatly assisted General Riedesel in bringing up his command, which—together with Riedesel's efforts—was the sole means of retrieving the fortunes of that day. In the battle of the 7th of October, 1777, (fought on the same ground) both his aides were wounded; and he, himself, shortly after, shared the fate of Burgoyne's army, which surrendered to Gates, Oct. 17th, 1777. He followed the "Convention Troops" to Virginia; and having, meanwhile, been exchanged, he was sent from New York in the Spring of 1781, with 2,000 men, to join Arnold, then at the Chesapeake. He did not, however, long survive his misfortunes, as he was carried off by a fever at Petersburg, Va., May 13, 1781. Major General Phillips, at his death, held the office of lieutenant governor of Windsor. *Stone's Burgoyne, Army Lists, Auburey's Travels.*

have in Charge, specifying their condition and how furnished with Oars, Setting-Poles, &c.

Signed, E. Foy,¹ Depy. Adj. General.

¹ Edward Foy received a commission of first lieutenant in the Royal Artillery on the 2d of April, 1757, and became captain lieutenant on the 1st of January, 1759. In the month of July, following, as a captain of one of the British artillery companies or batteries, he acted with such bravery at the battle of Minden as to be specially distinguished on the day after the battle by the commander-in-chief in his address to the army. He was promoted to a captaincy in February, 1764, and accompanied Lord Dunmore, as his private secretary, to New York in 1770, and went thence with his Lordship to Virginia, in 1772. *Burke*, in his *History of Virginia*, says that Captain Foy "resigned his office as governor of New Hampshire for the purpose of accepting the inferior post of private secretary to Dunmore," and attributes the circumstance to "some latent purpose of the British Ministry to employ his talents in carrying out those measures which had already been devised." O'Callaghan, however, thinks that this cannot be the case, as Foy was gazetted lieutenant governor of New Hampshire only in July, 1774, nearly two years after his arrival in Virginia, and four years after he had become Lord Dunmore's secretary. During his stay in that colony, Capt. Foy unfortunately shared much of the odium that attached to the governor, with whom he retired on board the *Forney* on the 8th of June, 1775. In the address of the House of Burgesses on the 19th of June, following, they accused the governor of "giving too much credit to some persons who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his Lordship's confidence," alluding to Capt. Foy, as "an Englishman of violent passions and hostile prejudices

against us," and who was considered governor *de facto*. The Countess of Dunmore sailed soon after and arrived in England in August, 1775, Capt. Foy returning home about the same time, with despatches for the ministry. In the Spring of 1776, however, he returned to America, in the ship *Pallas* as commissary of the troops in Canada; and in the same year was appointed Carelton's deputy adjutant general, a position which he continued to fill until his death in Canada, in 1780. Both his wife and himself were on terms of friendship with General and Mrs. Riedesel. He accompanied Riedesel to America on board the ship *Pallas*, both occupying the same state-room. The companionship seems to have been mutually agreeable. Speaking of their experiences on the voyage, Riedesel, who preceded his wife to America, writes to her as follows: " * * Near all were sea sick. The cook could not cook. Muller could not dress me. Valentine could find nothing. To sum up, great lamentation and great blundering arose on all sides. Hungry, I had nothing to eat. Finally, Captain Foy and myself cooked a pea-soup in the sailor's kitchen, and eat cold roast beef, which made up our whole dinner. Monday the weather was somewhat milder, and some of the people became better, though most of them remained sick. Captain Foy and I once more cooked a portable bouillon soup, a cod with anchovy sauce, a ragout from roast beef, and a piece of roast veal with potatoes. On Tuesday, the cook still could do nothing, and Foy and myself again did the cooking." Capt. Foy was a man of large frame and of a powerful physique. His wife was an American lady, who seems, at times, to have caused her husband a good deal of annoyance by

GENERAL ORDERS BY MAJOR GENERAL
PHILIPS

MONTREAL 5th December 1776

Officers coming to Montreal upon Leave for a longer Time than two days, are to give in their Names to the Adj't of the week, Marking to what time their leave of absence extends, & by whom given.

Sign'd Arr. JAS. POMEROY¹.

MONTREAL 12th December 1776

Orders received from his Excellency the Commander in Chief, dated Quebec, 9th December, 1776.

The Commander in Chief [Carleton²] has been

her love of ease and unwillingness to make those sacrifices which are inseparable from the life of a soldier's wife. *Life of Gen. Riedesel, N. Y. Col. Doc.*

¹ Arthur James Pomeroy; at this time captain in the 1st Dragoons, commissioned captain, Oct. 5th, 1776.

² Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester). He was born at Strabane, Ireland, in 1722, and died Nov. 10, 1808. Entering the guards at an early age, he became a lieutenant in 1748. He was with the Duke of Cumberland, as an aide, in the German campaign; and served with Amherst and Wolfe in America. He was governor of Canada from 1772 to 1781, though Burgoyne succeeded him as military leader in 1777, when he received the order of knighthood. In 1781, he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British army

in America. He was made governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in 1786, in which year, as a reward for long and faithful service, he was raised to the peerage, being created Baron Dorchester; and from that year until 1796, he was governor of British North America, his administration being marked by mildness and justice. He was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Thomas. As Mr. Lossing very justly remarks: "It is due to his memory to say, that he doubtless was opposed to the employment of savages against the Americans." He was certainly a very humane man, as his great kindness to all American prisoners proves. His paroling and taking care of the Americans captured by him when he defeated Montgomery and Arnold at Quebec, is but one of many instances of the same character. In fact, Gen. Carleton was one of the best generals,

Pleased to appoint Ensign William Doyle¹ of the 24th Regt, To be Lieut. in the room of Lieut. Robert Pennington deceased. No Adjutant, Quar-

as regards both kindness and justice, that the British Government ever had in America. He was truly a great and a wise man. Gen. Carleton was on warm terms of friendship with Joseph Brant; and I have in my possession letters from Carleton to Brant to prove this statement—a fact which in itself shows that Brant could not have been the "monster" that he has been painted.

¹ The copy of the British army list, which is in the Astor Library and consists of ninety folio volumes (stilted), has been carefully and extensively corrected by the pen of some former owner, probably a military man of high rank, as the book-plate shows. By this it appears that William Doyle became ensign, July 16, 1774, and lieutenant, in place of Pennington deceased, Nov. 27th, 1776, Doyle was wounded at Bemis Heights, Oct. 7, 1777; and being afterward captured with Burgoyne, his signature appears attached to the Cambridge Parole. He seems to have lived to a good age, since we find that he became a lieutenant general, Aug. 12th, 1819. It is quite possible that Doyle was with St. Leger until the latter's retreat into Canada, when he left him to join Burgoyne. We know that it was the intention of Sir John Johnson to rejoin the British army at Saratoga after St. Leger's defeat (*Col. Claus to Minister Knox*), though for some reason which does not appear, he failed to do so. It is a very common thing, for an officer to be detached from his regiment on staff duty. Thus Captain Edward Foy of the Royal Artillery (mentioned in the text), was at this time on detached service as Sir Guy Carleton's deputy adjutant general. Captain Arthur James Pomeroy of the 1st Dragoons (also mentioned in the text) was on

detached service as an aide to Gen. Phillips, though his regiment was not in Canada, nor America during the Revolutionary war. Other familiar illustrations of this with Burgoyne, were Major Kingston, Burgoyne's adjutant general, a brevet major and captain of invalids in Ireland; Sir Francis Clerke, Burgoyne's secretary, a lieutenant in the 3d Foot Guards which gave him the army rank of captain, owing to the double rank which formerly obtained in the Guards; and Richard Rich Wilford, one of Burgoyne's aides, was a lieutenant in the 2d or Queen's Royal Regiment. A military friend, however, does not take this view; and under date of Jan. 22, 1882, writes to me as follows:

"I do not believe that William Doyle was with St. Leger, at all, whether he was or not, the 24th was not, as that was the only British regiment that Burgoyne had the whole of with him. For this statement, see Lord George Germaine's letter to Sir Guy Carleton of March 26, 1777, printed in *The State of the Expedition*, appendix viii. At the foot of the page one would suppose that the 8th and 24th Regiments did not accompany Burgoyne, and were expressly ordered out of or to be exempted from Burgoyne's command. This is true of the 8th but not of the 24th and the error is in the brackets including more than the words '(except of the 8th Regiment).' The order or letter should have been punctuated thus:

'It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure that you put under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne'

The grenadiers and light infantry of the army (except of the 8th regiment) and the 24th regiment as the advanced corps under the command of Brigadier General Fraser.' Fraser had all the light

ter Master, or Surgeons Mate doing duty as Such in any Regt is to be returned a Volunteer. A bounty having been granted by the London Merchts to Such Soldiers, or Saylor as may have been wounded, and to the Widows of such of either as have been kill'd in the Service In America, the Pay Master of Regiments, & Captain Shanks

companies *i. e.* the light infantry and grenadiers, of all the British regiments in Canada except of the 8th or King's Regiment. Besides the light companies as above, Fraser had in his brigade, his own regiment, the 24th, he being its lieutenant colonel. The 300 men spoken of higher up on page viii, appendix of the State of the Expedition, were drawn from the 6 regiments of the 1st and 2d Brigades as stated at the foot of that page. Fraser's Brigade was not numbered, but was known as the Light Brigade, and always led. Besides the above authority, page ix of the appendix, State of the Expedition, shows exactly what regular British troops St. Leger had, we know that the 24th was with Burgoyne and that no part of it was with St. Leger, except possibly a single officer might have been on detached service, as it is called, on St. Leger's staff, St. Leger then being an acting brigadier. Of this, however, I see no evidence whatever, and the reference to William Doyle in Sir John's Orderly Book, does not furnish the least possible authority for any belief that Doyle was with St. Leger. That reference is an order from Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief in Canada, issued Dec. 12th, 1776, more than two months before Lord George Germaine issued in London his order to form St. Leger's expedition, as Lord George's letter of March 26th, 1777, to Sir Guy contained that order. The troops in Canada were then lying in winter quarters, the 34th, St. Leger's Regiment, being at Quebec,

and Sir John Johnson's being at La Chine, La Pointe Clair and St. Ann [*Lamb's American War*, p. 112]. The order of Dec. 12th, in Sir John's Orderly Book is, as you see, signed by Sir Guy's deputy adjutant general and is transmitted through the head-quarters of Major General Phillips, and being the order of a superior authority and applying to all the troops in Canada, Sir John's Regiment was as much amenable to it, as any and all other regiments serving in Canada under Sir Guy were; and hence it appears in his Orderly Book. Sir John Johnson's Regiment did not leave its winter quarters at La Chine (that being the regimental head-quarters) till June 21, 1777, when it started on St. Leger's Expedition with fourteen days rations. [Sir John's Orderly Book]. The expression, with fourteen days rations, means that so many rations had been issued to the regiment's possession by the commissary, the rest of the stores and provisions for the expedition remaining in the hands of the commissary for future issues.

From all the above and many other authorities, but the above will suffice, I know that the 24th was not with St. Leger at all, and believe that Doyle was not with him, though if he was detached on staff duty with St. Leger that would afford no sort of ground for supposing that any of the rest of the 24th was with St. Leger."

Pennington was commissioned lieutenant, Feb. 10th, 1770.

are desired to transmit to Mr. Dunn Receiver General of the Province a list of the Soldiers and Saylor's who have been kill'd or wounded in the course of the Campaign.¹ Ten Dollars will be paid to the latter, not having already received it, & Five Pounds to the Widows of the former, Producing Certificates from the Officer Under whose Command their Husbands Respectively Served.

Sign'd E. Foy

Dept. Adt. General.

By order of Major Genl Philips

Sign'd Arr. JAMS. POMEROY,

Aid de Camp.

¹ I have searched in vain among the archives of the British museum and the files of the newspapers yet preserved in London, to find the precise date and the exact words in which this "bounty" (or more properly, pension) was given by the "London merchants." Force's archives also are silent. The only items which are at all germane to the subject are the following extracts. The first, from the *Annual Register* for July 18th, 1776, is as follows:

"In a letter, lately received by the committee at the London Tavern, appointed to conduct the voluntary contributions in favor of the soldiers serving in North America, their wives and children, from the officers appointed by General Howe to conduct it on the spot, is the following paragraph: 'This Board, as well as the officers and soldiers in general, are sensible of the great attention which their countrymen have shown them on this occasion; and we flatter ourselves that the future operations of the army, in reducing the deluded inhabitants of

this country to a just sense of their duty, will merit their approbation. The Society may be assured that the Board will exert themselves to render their benevolent designs as beneficial as possible, and would suggest that there should be sent to them soap, leather, combs, leggings, etc.'"

This, also, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for December, 1776:

"On Nov. 22d, the magistrates of Whitehaven issued an order offering two guineas bounty for every able sailor that should enter voluntarily, with the proper officer, there to serve the Royal Navy, in which they were followed by the gentlemen of the town; so that every sailor, who enters there, will receive £9 4s. The corporation of Newcastle have offered the same bounty with that of Whitehaven."

And again, from the *Middlesex Journal*, London, Nov. 23, 1776:

"*Canterbury*, Nov. 20th, a subscription is set on foot at Tolpstone, by the mayor and principal inhabitants of that town,

LACHINE

1777 JAN 1st. P. Ireland. C. Scotland. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Prvt. The two Companys of the Kings Royal Regt of New York Cantoon'd at Lachine to parade tomorrow morning opposite to Mr. Henis [i. e. his plantation] at Seven o'Clock, fully accouter'd— The Guard to Mount at 7 o'Clock.

—5th. P. Patrick. C. Daly. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, & 6 Privts. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

—6th. P. Ireland. C. Cromarthy. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 Privts. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—7th. P. Gray. C. Evalick. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 Privts. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—8th. P. Berwick. C. Tweed. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—9th. P. Tain. C. Dingwall. For Guard

whereby a reward of 40 shillings is offered to every able bodied seaman, and 20 shillings for every ordinary seaman over and above his Majesty's bounty, to such inhabitants of the said town as shall voluntarily enter themselves into his Majesty's navy."

In Force's *American Archives*, 4th Series, vol. iv, p. 543, there is a Proclamation by the King, "given at our

court of St. James, Jan. 3d, 1776, for encouraging seamen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's ships of war," and also (Force's *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv, p. 1468) an "order in council at the court of St. James, 28th Feb., 1776," to the same effect; but have little or no bearing on this particular enquiry.

to Morrow 1 S & 6 P. Lieut. Singleton,¹ Officer of the day.

—10th. P. London. C. Weymouth. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 Privates. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—11th. P. New York. C. Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens. Crothers, officer of the Day.

—12th P. Edinburgh. C. Lieth, For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—13th. P. York. C. Boston. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut Singleton, officer of the day.

14th. P. Philadelphia. C. Charlestown. For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens. Byrns officer of the Day.

—15th. P. Dublin. C. Belfast. For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

¹ George Singleton of Montreal. This officer was a lieutenant in Captain Stephen Watt's company, and being wounded in the battle of Oriskany, and carried back into the Indian camp near Fort Stanwix, was taken prisoner by Col. Willett in his sortie from that Fort, while the action was still in progress. *Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, N. Y. Col. Doc.* Speaking of this sally, Willett, in his *Narrative*, says: "Several prisoners were brought into the Fort, among whom was a Mr. Singleton, a lieutenant of the light infantry company of Sir John Johnson's regiment. A few Indians and some troops were found dead in their

camp, and, no doubt, several were killed in crossing the river. Upon the whole, the enterprise was successful beyond Col. Willett's most sanguine hopes." We are sorry, however, for the fair fame of this officer, that he should have been guilty of an act of shameful cruelty. Moses Younglove, a surgeon of Gen. Herkimer's brigade of militia, who was taken prisoner by St. Leger, and who, moreover, until his decease at Hudson, N. Y., about 1825, was a gentleman of high standing, is authority for the statement that [¹ Lieutenant Singleton, of Sir John Johnson's regiment, being wounded, entreated the savages to kill the prison-

—16th. *P. Tain. C. Dingwall.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—17th *P. Armagh. C. Galloway.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—18th. *P. Thurso. C. Week.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—19th. *P. Glasgow. C. Dumbarton.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

—20th. *P. Tillibody. C. Sterling.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

21st. *P. Perth. C. Lieth* For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—22d. *P. York, C. Cadrous.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

ers, which they accordingly did, as high as this deponent can judge, about six or seven. The original of this affidavit by Younglove, is still in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.

General de Peyster and Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, have thought that Willett was wrong in his statement (see quotations from the *Narrative*, in the "Introduction" to the *Orderly Book*, and Appendix No. iii) that Sir John Johnson was in his camp when he made the sortie, and in proof of this they, among other things, refer to St. Leger's account

of occurrences at Fort Stanwix," cited by Burgoyne in his defence, in which the writer asserts that Sir John was engaged in the action at Oriskany. Willett's authority, however, for his statement, was this same Lieut. Singleton. In a letter which Willett wrote a few days after the sortie, to a Hartford newspaper, dated at the German Flats, on 11th of August, he says: "One of the prisoners is a Mr. George Singleton, of Montreal, a lieutenant in Captain Watt's company. Mr. Singleton told me that Sir John Johnson was with him when

—23d. *P.* Boston. *C.* Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Gordon. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders, That the Comps Lying at Upper Lachine Do Duty in Conjunction with the Two Comps of the King's Royal Regt. of New York of Lower Lachine.

—25th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Quebec. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Lieut Singleton, officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* La Prairie. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sert & 6 P men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Point Clair. *C.* Inverness. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

—28th. *P.* London. *C.* Barnet. For Guard to Morrow 1 Serg. & 6 P. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—29th. *P.* Inverness. *C.* Nairn. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

we attacked their camp, and that he thinks he ran to the river." But both statements may be correct; and as Singleton, who had most certainly been in the engagement at Oriskany, was carried back to the camp wounded while

the fight was still going on, so Sir John may also have returned to the camp for some purpose at the same time. Indeed, it is not impossible to reconcile both views, and have each one entirely consistent with the true facts of the case.

—30th. *P. Dunkeld. C. Perth.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 men. Ens Byrne, officer of the day.

—31st. *P. Burk. C. Patrick.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 7 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

LACHINE

1777 February 1st *P. New York. C. Albany.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 7 Men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—2d. *P. Fort Hunter.¹ C. Johnstown.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 7 men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—3d. *P. Tower C. St. James.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 Men Ens Byrnes. Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P. Norwich. C. Norfolk.* Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P. Invenshire. C. Inveraw.* Guard

¹ Fort Hunter (Indian name, Dyiondaroga) now in Montgomery Co., N. Y., was built at the mouth of the Schoharie-kill during the French and Indian war, on the site of the Lower Castle of the Mohawks, which was, at this time, the most considerable town of that nation. It was scarcely a place of defence being, in fact, only a wooden building palisadoed, within which, besides the barracks, were some thirty cabins of the Mohawk Indians. There was a house at each curtain, and the cannon at each bastion, were from seven to nine pounders. It had no ditch, and only a large swing-door at its entrance. The palisades en-

closed an edifice, called Queen Anne's chapel, to which a parsonage, built of stone, was attached. The old fort was torn down at the beginning of the revolution, but it was afterward partially restored and often garrisoned. "The chapel," says Lossing, "was demolished in 1820, to make room for the Erie canal." After the confiscation of the property of Sir John Johnson, the furniture of Johnson Hall was sold at auction at Fort Hunter. When Mr. Lossing visited the place, the parsonage was still standing in the town of Florida, half a mile below the Schoharie creek, and a few rods south of the canal.

To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. For Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P. Tryon. C. Dunmore.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day. It is Majr Grays ord's that Patr McDonell of Capt Dalys Comy & Dan'll Campbell of the Colls Compy be appointed Corp'ls in his Compy.

—7th. *P. Dalwhinnie. C. Dulnacardock.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 1 Corp. & 6 Men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—8th. *P. Bristol. C. Barth.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—9th. *P. York. C. Albany.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corpl & 7 Men.

—10th. *P. Schanactdy. C. Trypp's', hill.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl & 7 Men. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

11th. *P. Gilbert. C. Tice.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. & 7 Men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—12th. *P. Mayfield C. Sachandaga.²* For

¹ Tribe's Hill, situated 20 miles west of Schenectady on the eastern extremity of the Caughnawaga flats, opposite Fort Hunter or the site of the "Lower Mohawk castle." It was named after one of the different tribes or families of the Mohawk nation which dwelt upon it; but whether it was the Bear, Turtle or Wolf tribe is uncertain. It was first settled by families from Albany in 1725. Rev. John Taylor, who visited the Hill while on a missionary tour in 1802,

mentions as worthy of note, that on its top there was an apple tree which produced apples without core or seeds. From its top a fine view is obtained of a few hundred acres of excellent meadow which was formerly the seat of "King Hendrick," the famous sachem of the Mohawks. *N. Y. Col. Doc., Septba R. Simms to the author.*

² The Sacandaga river one of the two chief tributary streams that flow into the

Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl. & 7 Men.
Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—13th. *P.* Fort Stanwix. *C.* Oswego. For
Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl, & 7 Men.
Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—14th. *P.* Niagara. *C.* Fort Dimber [Dum-

Hudson. The Sacandaga, which enters the Hudson at Luzerne, was the objective point with Sir John Johnson in his raids from Canada into the Mohawk valley. His course, on these occasions, was down Lake Champlain to Bulwagga bay on that lake; and thence to Schroon Lake, and "Crane Mountain," in Warren Co., N. Y., whence there was a direct trail to the Sacandaga River.] In this connection, the following letter to Gen. de Peyster is in point.

JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS, Jan. 8, 1880.

DEAR SIR—In reply to your letter asking for some particulars in regard to *Crane Mountain* in connection with Sir John Johnson's route from *Bulwagga Bay* in *Lake Champlain* to *Cherry Valley*, I would say that my attention was first called to it in the fall of 1852, while on a deer-stalking expedition in the Adirondacks, by an old hunter, who had often been surprised at such evidences of careful military work in places where he supposed white feet had never trodden until a comparatively recent date. A careful examination was thereupon undertaken by me, resulting in the conclusion that Johnson's raid either was by no means so precipitate as has hitherto been believed, or else that he had with him a skilled engineer with men under him who were accustomed to work with great celerity.

Although the road is now overgrown with bushes and scrub timber, yet a very little observation reveals a well made corduroy road underneath (still in excel-

lent preservation), with the gap in the forest where the primeval trees were cut down for the road. This road, coming down from the valley of the Bouquet and Schroon rivers, meets the base of Crane Mountain at its north-western side, and following around the base of the mountain leaves it on its south-eastern point, and goes off in a well defined trail to the Sacandaga. Thence crossing that stream it is lost in the forest in a bee line to the Fish House, Johnstown, and the Cherry Valley settlement.

It is, I may remark here, a great mistake to imagine that the whites were the first to know this region—the truth being that all this wilderness was as well known to the Iroquois, not to speak of previous races, as one's own library is to its owner. Crane Mountain at the present time (not so much from its height, though it is a high mountain, as from its peculiar position in the Adirondack chain), can be seen from any direction within a radius of seventy miles. Crane Mountain was of course, as prominent a landmark in 1780, as it is now; and in descending from the valley of the Schroon, it was undoubtedly seen and seized upon as a point to make for, on Johnson's way to the Sacandaga. Indeed, it has been made the base of the trigonometrical survey of the northern section of New York State. I am sincerely rejoiced that Sir John Johnson has at length found so able a defender as yourself, and I remain,

Yours cordially,

WM. L. STONE.

mer' ?] For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl, & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day.

—15th. *P.* Fort Erie. *C.* Detroit. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl, and 7 Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.

—16th. *P.* St. Anns². *C.* Point Clair. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl, & 9 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—17th. *P.* La Chine. *C.* Montreal. For Guard To Morrow 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl & 9 Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P.* La Prairie. *C.* Long Ile³. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corpl. & 9 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of The Day.

—17th. [Sic] *P.* Eden. *C.* Adam. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & Eight men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officer's Orders that the Guard Shall Consist of one Sergt, & Eight private Men for the future, & be Removed from here to Lower

² This fort is frequently spoken of in the early border wars. It was first built in 1723, and was situated on the Connecticut river on the New Hampshire side, forty miles below Charlestown, or Number Four.

² Lower Canada was originally divided into four districts, viz. : Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec and Gaspé, in the second of which lay St. Anne. The Seigniory of St. Anne, three quarters of a league wide, by two and a half leagues in length, and granted to M. Lanaudiere, Oct. 29th, 1672; is situated on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, a little nearer to Mon-

treal than to Quebec. On the east side of the river St. Anne, and near the St. Lawrence, is the village of St. Anne, a pretty little hamlet, but having no particular history or traditions.

³ *Longueuil*, a parish or town on the right or south bank of the St. Lawrence, three miles from Montreal, was granted to the Sieur Charles Le Moine de Longueuil (father of Iberville and Bienville, and the successor of M. de Vaudreuil in the government of Canada), Nov. 3d, 1672. Near the village, was the ancient Fort of Longueuil (built by Baron de Longueuil), one of the many barriers against

La chine Where the King's Stores Are, they will keep two Sentries by Day & two by Night, the One over the Prisoners, & the Other at the Kings Stores.

—18th. [Sic] P. Howe. C. Fraser¹. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & Eight Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Officer of the Day Visit the Guard twice Every Day & Make a Report to him of What Ever happens Relative to the Service.

—19th. P. Johnson. C. Gray. For Guard To Morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day.

—20th. P. Norwich. C. London. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. and 8 Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—21st. P. Phillips. C. Fraser. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

It is The Commanding officer's Orders that

the Iroquois, and a military centre during all of the French, English and American wars. Its site is now covered by a well built church. On landing in the village from the ferry-boat on which he has crossed the St. Lawrence from Montreal, the tourist feels as if he had been suddenly transported into some ancient, medieval town of France, to which, moreover, had been added all the peculiarities of an old Canadian town; neat as a pin; grass in the streets and in the court-yards of the quaint adobe cottages; and the people either going quietly about their business, or, apparently in a "brown

study," standing behind the lower half of their doors, the upper half thrown open, staring into vacancy. Longueil, formerly in the county of Kent, is now the chief town of the county of Chambly, and is the summer residence of many Montrealers, some of whom have handsome dwellings on the outskirts of the town. Its present population is 2,083.

¹ Gen. Simon Fraser. For a sketch of this gallant officer the reader is referred to Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign*, and Gen. Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*.

the two Comp'ys Quartered here March to Point Clair To Morrow Morning at 7 O'Clock. The Non Commissiend Officers will be Very Carefull That The Men Are Clean & their Armes in Good Order.

—22d. *P.* Whymendham. *C.* Attleburrough. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—23d. *P.* Thotford. *C.* New Market. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Ensign Byrns Officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Stratford. *C.* Bow Bridge. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—25th. *P.* Norfolk. *C.* Suffolk. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Essex. *C.* Kent. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

27th. *P.* Walker. *C.* Crothers. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 men. Ens. Byrns officer of the day.

—28th. *P.* Daly. *C.* Watts. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

1777 MARCH 1st. *P.* India. *C.* Britain. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—2d. *P.* Tyron. *C.* Howe. For Guard to

Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Johnstown. *C.* Johnson. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P.* Yorkshire. *C.* Hampshire. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & Private Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P.* Exeter. *C.* York. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P.* Halifax. *C.* Boston. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—7th. *P.* Quebec. *C.* Three Rivers'. For

¹ Three Rivers is a town of Canada East at the confluence of the rivers St. Maurice and St. Lawrence, ninety miles from Quebec. It contains, among other churches, a large Roman Catholic parish church, formerly served by the Recollets, or Franciscan Friars; but the Order is now extinct in Three Rivers. The convent of St. Ursule, founded by M. de St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, in 1677, is also a spacious building. The sisters of this convent particularly excel in the manufacture of very curious bark-work. They use the bark of the birch tree; and with it they make pocket-books, work-baskets, dressing-boxes, etc., which they embroider with elk hair dyed of the most brilliant colors. They also make models of Indian canoes and the various war-like implements used by the Indians, all of which handiwork they sell, for the benefit of their convent, to the stray tourist who chances to sojourn in their neighborhood. "Nearly all the birch-bark canoes in use on the St. Lawrence and

Ottawa rivers and on the nearer lakes," says Weld, "are manufactured at Three Rivers, and in the vicinity by Indians. The birch tree is found in great plenty near the town; but it is from the more northern part of the country, where the tree attains a very large size, that the principal part of the bark is procured that canoes are made with. The bark resembles in some degree that of the oak tree, but it is of a closer grain, and also much more pliable, for it admits of being rolled up the same as a piece of cloth. The Indians of this part of the country always carry large rolls of it in their canoes when they go on a hunting party, for the purpose of making temporary huts. The bark is spread on small poles over their heads, and fastened with strips of elm-bark (which is remarkably tough) to stakes, so as to form walls on the sides." Three Rivers, though long stationary as regards growth, has recently become one of the most thrifty places in the province. The district of Three

Guard to Morrow 1 S & 10 Pri Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.

—8th. P. Sorel¹. C. Chamblee². For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv't Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—9th. P. Montreal. C. Burgoyne. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day.

—10th. P. Carleton. C. Phillips. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—11th. P. Johnson. C. Gray. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Privt Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.

Rivers includes both sides of the St. Lawrence, and is sub-divided into four counties. The village, itself, besides being one of the oldest towns in Canada, is one of the most interesting on account of its historical associations; it having been for a long time the home of Nicolet (the discoverer of the Northwest), while acting as interpreter between the French and the western tribes. For this latter fact, See, *Nicolet's Discovery of the Northwest*, by C. W. Butterfield.

¹ Sorel is situated at the mouth of the river of the same name (also called the Richelieu), which runs from Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence. It was laid out in 1787; and is the only town on the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, wherein English is the chief language. The river of Sorel is deep at its mouth, and affords good shelter for ships from the ice, at the breaking up of winter; but it is not navigable far beyond the town, even in flat-bottomed boats, on account of the rapids.

² Chambly (the Seigniory of) on the River Richelieu or Sorel, and in the counties of Kent and Bedford, L. C., is three leagues in length by one in depth on each side of that river; and was granted, on the 29th of Oct., 1672, to M. de Chambly. At one time, this valuable property was owned by five persons, among whom were Sir John Johnson and Col. de Rouville, the latter of whom is mentioned in the text towards the end of the Orderly Book. Sir John Johnson must eventually have lost the benefit of this property, since he was in very poor circumstances in the latter part of his life. "When in Montreal shortly before Sir John Johnson's death," writes to me Mr. Winslow C. Watson, under date of Feb. 26, 1879, "Hon. Dominick Mondelet, then a leading advocate of the Canadian bar and afterwards Judge of the Queen's Bench, assured me of Sir John's extreme poverty, and that he was, at the time, conducting some litigation in behalf of the baronet."

12th. *P.* County Tyron. *C.* Albany. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—13th. *P.* Newcastle. *C.* Tweed. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Privet Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Sergts, Corpls, Drummers, & Private Men of the Kings Roy'l New York attend Exercise to Morrow Morning At Eleven O'Clock—they are to Meet at the post above Capt Chenies¹.

—14th. *P.* England. *C.* America. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Lieut Singleton Officer of the Day.

—15th. *P.* Ireland. *C.* Scotland. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—16th. *P.* Philadelphia. *C.* New York. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt. Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that an Exact Account be taken of the Clothing, Shirts, Shoes & Stockings &c of the Men of Every Comp, & the Quantity of them—an officer of each Comp to Attend at the time—& that the Account be given in to the Commanding Officer At Point Clair. That all

¹An old hunter, and a descendant of this officer, is still (1882) living in a log shanty in the Adirondacks, between the Boreas River (a stream emptying into the Hudson) and Blue Mountain Lake—"Cheney Lake," in that vicinity, being

named after him. Lieut. Cheney owned, at one time, a large tract of land in the Adirondacks, but it has been all frittered away except what is held by the hunter above named.

the Officers for the future Attend Exercise of the Men from the hour of Eleven till One in the Afternoon if the Weather Permit. A Court Martial to Sit on Wednesday Next to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—17th. *P. St. Patrick. C. Chilo.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens. Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P. Lochaber. C. Kintail.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day. A Regimental Court Martial to Sit to morrow at 12 o'Clock. Lieut Singleton, President. Members, Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford. To try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—19th. *P. Barford. C. Melton.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Privt men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

—20th. *P. Hatthersett. C. Eaton.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—21st. *P. Dareham. C. Yarmouth.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—22d. *P. Howe. C. Tryon.*¹ For Guard to

¹ The words "Howe and Tryon" as paroles and countersigns were fittingly designated by St. Leger, a man who resembled those generals in all their cruel propensities. Indeed, we much doubt if, during our revolutionary struggle, there were any British officers more blood-thirsty than St. Leger, Howe and Tryon save, perhaps, Tarleton, and Cunningham the keeper of the Liberty St. Sugar House prison, the prototype, by the way, of the Richmond Tobacco House and Ander-

morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day.

—23d. *P.* Johnstown. *C.* Johnson. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Quebec. *C.* Orleans. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day. A Regtl Court Martial to Sit to morrow Morning At 10 O'Clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters. Lieut. Walker, President. Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford Members, to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—25th. *P.* Albany. *C.* Boston. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Amboy. *C.* New York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Philadelphia. *C.* Anapolis For

sonville. The query arises : Were these names given out to incite the troops to cruelty, as were other paroles and countersigns (see our Introduction) designated as incentives to valor? William Tryon had figured as an oppressor in 1768-1771 in North Carolina, and, becoming governor of New York, which he held when the war broke out, like the other royal governors, was compelled to yield to popular indignation which (being a cruel and narrow-minded man) he retaliated as a military leader. It was he who, later in the war, laid Danbury, Fairfield and Norwalk in ashes, when there was positively nothing to be gained in a strategic point

of view, by the destruction of those places. At Fairfield, for example, the brutal Hessians, to whom Tryon gave a *carte blanche* to ravage and destroy, excited by liquor, shamefully and cruelly treated the women who fell into their hands, whole families being "driven into the swamps for shelter against their infernal lusts." It has also been asserted, and not denied, that after the battle of Long Island, Howe allowed his troops and especially the Hessians, to tie up American prisoners and use them for marks to fire at! the excuse being, that "such treatment would keep the people from joining the rebel army, and thus the rebellion would be sooner ended!"

Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day. It is Major Gray's Orders that Officers Commanding Comp'ns Give in a Regular Return of different Comp'ns Weekly to the Quarter Master in order to draw their Provisions According to said Return; & When a Man is Absent or does not chuse to draw his Rations, the Officer of th. Comp'ny to wich he belongs is to Give in his name, at the foot of Said Return, Mentioning, if Absent, at what Place. the Qr. Master is to Make a Monthly Return to the Paymaster of the number of Rations for Said Month, & in that Return Give in a List of the Officers & Men who may be, or does not chuse to Draw Provisions. It is Major Gray's Orders that the Officers Commanding Companys will Examine the Accounts Given in to them by the Quarter Master, for making the Mens Clothing & other Necessarys furnished them, & if there are any errors in Said Account, to furnish the Quarter Master with an Account of them in Writing Immediately.

—28th. *P.* Fort Erie. *C.* Detroit. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Pri. men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—29th. *P.* Barnet. *C.* Hatfield. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. the Commission'd Non Commis'd officers & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt'ment of New York to be

under arms the 31st of March, Monday Next at Capt Dalys Quarters.

—30th. *P.* London. *C.* Middlesex. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day.

—31st. *P.* Limerick. *C.* Clonmell. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

LACHINE

1777 APRIL 1st. *P.* Gray. *C.* Johnson. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—2d. *P.* Kinsbridge. *C.* Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt men. Ens Wall Officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Honduras. *C.* Goree. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Phillips. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P.* Glasgow. *C.* Aberdeen. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—7th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* York. For Guard to

morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—8th. *P. Wells. C. Lynn.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the two Companys Catoon'd at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to morrow Morning At eleven o'clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters.

—9th. *P. Norfolk. C. Suffolk.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day. A Review of Arms Accoutrements and Necessaries on friday at Eleven O'Clock as the Major desires that the men from St. Anns Under the Command of Capt. Brown be sent to their Companys that they be Provided in time with Necessaries to take the field when ordered, & Capt. Brown to take the Light Infantry Comp'ny, which he is to Compleat Immediately from the Battalion: the old men from Capt. Watt's¹ Compy change their coats with

¹ Captain Stephen Watts, brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson and fourth son of Hon. John Watts and Ann de Lancey, was born in New York, Dec. 24th, 1754. As an officer in Johnson's Royal Greens, he was present at the battle of Oriskany, in which action "he was severely wounded and left on the field, as was supposed, among the slain. His death was reported by Col. Willett in his letter to Col. Trumbull, and by other authorities. Such, however, was not the fact. Reviving from faintness produced by loss of blood, some time after the action, he

succeeded in crawling to a brook (Oriskany creek) where, by slaking his thirst, he was preserved from speedy death; and in the course of two or three days was found by some Indian scouts, and brought into St. Leger's camp."

The above statement was taken down from the lips of his brother, the Hon. John Watts, of New York, by the writer's father the late Col. William L. Stone, and is undoubtedly the correct version. Mrs. Bonney, however, in her *Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, vol. 1, p. 69, gives a somewhat different account,

those from other Companies who shall come in their places; if their Coats do not Answer let the wings be taken off & given to those that come in'; Capt. Brown to fix that as he thinks fit. Lieut. Morrison to change off the Colonel's Compy; Lt. Singleton off the Majors & Lt. McDonold off Capt. McDonolds Comp'y, that they may be no farther Disputes in Regard to the Officers Ranks; & Left by Sir John a list of them to be seen, According to their Ranks from the Adjutant in the Regimental Book.

—10th P. Perth Amboy. C. Elizabeth Town.
For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. and 10 Private men. Ens Burn Officer of the Day.

so far, at least, as relates to the *manner* of Watt's escape, which is as follows: "Major Watts [his rank at this time, as I have observed in my Introduction, was captain] was wounded through the leg by a ball, and in the neck by a thrust from a bayonet which passed through the back of the windpipe, and occasioned such an effusion of blood as to induce not only him but his captors to suppose (after leading him two or three miles) that he must die in consequence. He begged his captors to kill him; they refused and left him by the side of a stream (Oriskany creek) under the shade of a bridge, where he was found two days subsequently, covered with fly-blows, but still alive. He was borne by some Indians to Schenectady where he remained (after losing his leg) until sufficiently recovered to bear a voyage to England." Soon after his arrival in England he married a Miss Nugent; and as Gen. de Peyster, his grandnephew, informs the writer, died in elegant retirement surrounded by a noble family of equally brave sons. Of these sons, one,

Ross Watts, was an admiral in the British navy; another, John Watts, was a captain in the British army and was present at the capture of Washington and the battle of New Orleans, and subsequently, mayor and deputy of Wellington, as governor of Walma Castle; and still another, Robert Nugent, was secretary in Quebec and a member of assembly in the Canadian parliament. See also, the *Parliamentary Register* for Watts's conduct at Oriskany.

1 "Wings," as connected with uniforms, were once worn as a substitute for epaulettes; certainly, during the revolution in the English service. They were of cloth; in shape, similar to the strap of the epaulette; and terminated at the end with a gold or silver fringe for officers, and of coarser materials for lower grades. They are sometimes seen in old pictures; and officers of long service have a dim sort of recollection that they were formerly worn in the United States service." *Gen. de Peyster to the author.*

—11th. *P.* Phillips. *C.* Fraser. For Guard to morrow 10 Privates, 1 Sergt. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—12th. *P.* London. *C.* Edinburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Private men. Officer of the Day, Ensign Wall. The Commission'd, Non Commission'd Officers and Men of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be Under Arms to morrow morning at 7 o'Clock.

—13th. *P.* Dornoch. *C.* Dunrobin. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. The Private men of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be under Arms to morrow morning at 7 o'Clock.

—14th. *P.* Dunmore. *C.* Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day.

—15th. *P.* Johnson. *C.* Tryon. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 Private men. Ens Burn, Officer of the Day. Its the Commanding Officers Orders that the Compy's Cantoond at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to morrow Morning at Nine O'Clock; the Non Commission'd Officers to See that the men Are Clean, and their Arms in Good Order; they are to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters.

—16th. *P.* Inverness. *C.* Nairn. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—17th. *P.* York. *C.* Albany. For Guard to

morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P.* Eaton. *C.* Hingham. For Guard to morrow 1 sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day.

—19th. *P.* Dublin. *C.* Cork. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and ten Private men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day.

—20th *P.* Bristol. *C.* Barth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 P men. Ens Burn, Officer of the Day.

—21st. *P.* Lincolnshire. *C.* Cambridgeshire. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. and 10 Private men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—22d. *P.* Niagara. *C.* Oswegoachey.¹ For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—23d. *P.* Derby. *C.* Clonmell. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day the Commis'd Non Commis'd officers, Drums & Privits, men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York, to Hold themselves In Readiness to March to Point Clair on Saturday Morning 26th of April. They are to Parade at the Commanding Officer's Quarters at 7 o'clock.

¹ Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburgh, N. Y.), in 1740 known as *Fort Presentation* and sometimes *La Gallette*. It was garrisoned by the French during a part of the seven years war, but was taken

by the English in 1700, while they were descending the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. Tradition locates one of Gen. Putnam's most daring exploits at this fort.

—24th. *P.* London. *C.* York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 *P.* men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—25th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* Barth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 *P.* men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Boston. *C.* Norwich. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 *P.* men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Hingham. *C.* Dearham. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 Private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—28th. *P.* Norfolk. *C.* Suffolk. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 *P.* men. Ens. Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—29th. *P.* Dover. *C.* Plymouth. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Priv. men. Leaut. Morrison, Officer of the Day.

—30th. *P.* Ireland. *C.* Scotland. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pri. men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

1777 MAY, 1ST. *P.* Quebec. *C.* Orleans. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day. the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drummers, & private men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock; they are

to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters at La Chine.

—2d. *P.* Halifax. *C.* Boston. For Guard tomorrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Wall officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Belfast. *C.* Dublin. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. it is the Commanding officers orders that all the officers for the future to Exercise their own Companys.

—4th. *P.* Cork. *C.* Dublin. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 P. men. Lieut. Morrison, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company be ordered to attend the ammunition tomorrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, & also that the old men who are incapable to exercise attend for the same purpose.

—5th. *P.* America. *C.* England. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 P men. Lieut. Walker, Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Priv. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company attend constantly every fair day at 8 o'Clock in the morning in order to air the ammunition ; also that the old men, who are incapable of learning the exercise, attend for the same purpose with a Non Commissioned officer.

—7th. *P.* New York. *C.* Amboy. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens. Crothers, officer of the Day.

—8th. *P.* Guadaloupe. *C.* Lewisburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10. Private men. Ens Wall, officer of the Day.

—9th. *P.* Hanover. *C.* Hamburg. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, 10 Private men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

It is the commanding officer's orders that the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers Drumers & Privets March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 8 o'clock, if the Weather Permits; thay are to Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.

—10th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private men. Lieut. Morrison officer of the Day.

—11th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Phillips. For Guard to morrow 1 & 10 Private men. Ens Byrne officer of the Day.

—12th. *P.* Edinburgh. *C.* Lieth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privt men. Ens. Crothers officer of the Day.

—13th. *P.* Crownpoint. *C.* Tyconderoga. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privt men. Ens Wall, officer of the Day.

—14th. *P.* Fort William. *C.* Fort George. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privts. Lieut. Walker, officer of the Day.

The Commission'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drum'rs, & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock. They will Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.

—15th. P. Tyron. C. Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pr. men. Ens Byrne, officer of the Day.

It being Reported to the Commanding Officer [St. Leger] that Several of the Soldiers make a practice of Gunning with their Regimental Fire Locks, he Desires for the future to say any Soldier who shall be guilty of Using their Arms to that purpose, if they shall, they may Depend they will be punished as the Martial Law Directs.

—16th. P. Quebec. C. Dover. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 Pr. men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

The Regt. are to keep themselves in Readiness to March at a Days Warning; the Trowsers & Every thing else to be Ready on Saturday Next: the whole of the Taylors of the Regt. to be kept at Work & free from Duty till then for that purpose—Jessup's Corps¹ to see that thay are

¹ Jessup's Corps, or Jessup's Battalion, the names are used interchangeably, or the officers that composed it, with the men that went from New York with them in the fall of 1776 to Canada, were ordered to Sir John Johnson's regiment merely for convenience in drawing rations, clothing, etc., before the expeditions of Burgoyne and St. Leger started. "The corps were regarded by Sir Guy Carleton," writes Gen. Rogers, "rather as refugees than as soldiers, though they wished to

Ready in Case of Orders for their Marching, & to have their Clothing Ready according to the Above Orders for the Regt.—Corp. Edward Egnue of Capt. Brown's Compy having Recei'd his Sentence of the General Court Martial is now Reduced to Serve in the Ranks as a Private Soldier.

be regarded as soldiers; and finally, in the spring of 1777, a corps was raised known as 'Jessup's Corps'. Before that Sir Guy called them "Jessup's party," and very strongly criticised the use of the term 'corps.' As long as they were with Sir John, receiving pay as soldiers, he treated them as such, notwithstanding Sir Guy's hair-splitting in regard to them. The 34th entered at Quebec, Sir John's regiment at La Chine, Pointe Claire, etc., and Jessup's corps or party was with the latter. Thus they continued until spring, Sir John on May 16th, commanding that "Jessup's corps to see that they are ready in case of orders for their marching" — until finally, as mentioned in a previous note, they left, June 16th, to join Burgoyne's army. After this expedition, and indeed, until the close of the war, the Jessup brothers were actively engaged in the bitter partisan warfare which was such a feature of those times; and accordingly we find the younger brother, Major Jessup, in the spring of 1781, preparing to head a party from Point au Fez against Palmerstown near the present village of Saratoga Springs. David Jones, so famous as the betrothed lover of the unfortunate Jane McCrea, held a commission in this corps, as did also his brother Daniel. The "Big Fall," on the Hudson river about ten miles above Glen's Falls, where the entire volume of water pours over a sheer descent of nearly seventy feet, is named "Jessup's Big Falls," after the commander of this corps. "Above the fall is what is called 'the race' where,

for a distance of about three hundred yards, the river runs down a sharp decline, gathering strength and impetus for the final leap. Still higher up, is a gorge in the rocks where the river finds passage in a cleft about fourteen feet wide. Here legend says that Jessup jumped across the river and made his escape at the outbreak of the revolution from the sheriff of Albany county." There is also another tradition connected with this romantic river and St. Leger's expedition. Some five miles above the scene of Jessup's feat, near the mouth of the Sacandaga, and where now is the pleasant hamlet of Luzerne, the Hudson, rushing through a narrow gorge between high and rocky cliffs, forms what are called "Jessup's Little Falls." At this spot the river is barely twelve feet wide; and the story goes that, in 1777, a British scout was endeavoring to find his way down the Sacandaga to communicate to Burgoyne the fact of the defeat of St. Leger before the walls of Fort Stanwix. As he approached this spot, he was waylaid by a party of patriots who had followed up his trail, when, to save his life, he rushed down the rocky bank, leaped the river at a bound, and clambering up the rocky bank, escaped. His baffled pursuers sent after him a few shots, but without effect. "After the revolution," says Col. B. C. Butler of Luzerne, N. Y., "Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, who were large and successful speculators in wild lands, and who had previously bought this particular tract from the Mohawks, settled at the

The Regt. & other Partys, Under the Command of Major Gray, are to be Under Arms Saturday Next at the Usual Place of Exercise at the Bay if the Weather Permits.

—17th. *P.* Langford. *C.* Lunsbansborough. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Priv. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P.* Chester. *C.* Newport. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privet men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—19th. *P.* Stirling. *C.* Perth. for guard tomorrow one Sergt and 10 private men. Lieut. Walker, officer of the Day.

—20th. *P.* London. *C.* Edinburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Priv. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that the Volunteers who have joined the Companies to which they belonge are to Mount Guard In their Proper Turn.

'Big Falls,' where, for several years, they did a large and thriving business in lumber. They also built a road from Fort Miller, across the plain and around the foot of Mt. McGregor (near Saratoga Springs), to the present hamlet of Luzerne. The 'Big Falls' was also called 'Jessup's Landing,' from the fact that the lumber rafts from the Sacandaga, Hudson and Schroon rivers, on their way to market, were landed here, drawn by teams around the 'Big Falls,' and then re-shipped for Glen's Falls." This statement of Col. Butler, however, is hardly probable, as

both the Jessups were included in the New York Act of Attainder and could scarcely have lived in New York after the revolution; besides which Gen. Rogers, a very high authority, writes that he has positive proof that at least one of the brothers, Edward, lived in Canada after the war until his death. Edward Jessup was present as one of the chief mourners at the funeral of Sir William Johnson to whom he was greatly attached. *Holden's History of the Town of Queensbury; Stone's Life of Brant; N. B. Sylvester.*

—21st. *P.* Dublin. *C.* London. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—22d. *P.* Templar. *C.* Preston. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Priv. men. Ens Wall Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officer's orders that the Commisson'd Non Commisson'd officers & Soldiers of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be Under arms this Evening at the Usual Place of Exercise at four o'clock; the Non Commission'd officers are to see that the mens arms are in Duty order; their Regtl's Clean; their Regt'l hats well Cocked, & their hair Properly Dressed, So as to appear Decent Saturday Next at the Review.

—23d. *P.* Greenock. *C.* Paisley. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Priv. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders the Commisson'd Non Commissined officers, Drumers & Privts of the King's Royal Regt of New York to be Under arms for Exercise to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock.

—24th. *P.* Walker. *C.* Lipscomb. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. & 8 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that the two Companys Cantoond at Lachine hold them-

selves in Readiness to March to Point Clair on monday Next at 6 o'Clock in the morning; the officers to be Careful that the mens arms, ammunition, accoutrements and necessaries are in good order on Tuesday Morning next at the genl Review. The Commissioned Non Commissioned officers, Drums, and private men to [meet at] roll calling tomorrow morning at Nine o'Clock at the Commanding officers Quarters & to Receive the Deficiency of the Cartridges.

—25th. *P. Inverness. C. Darnock.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 6 private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

The Commissioned, Non Commiss'ed officers, Drummers & Private men to appear at 6 o'clock to morrow Morning at the Commanding officers Quarters in Uniforms with their Arms [and] accoutrements necessary.

POINT CLAIR.¹

1777, MAY 26th. *Parole, Aberdeen. Countersign, Inverness.* For Guard to morrow Lt.

¹ Three leagues from La Chine (16 miles from Montreal) is *POINTE CLAIRE*, now a post-village. It contains from 200 to 300 houses, built with regularity, and forming small streets that cross the main road at right angles. There is a neat parish church, a parsonage house, and one or two tolerably good houses to receive strangers. The surrounding scenery is attractive, and it is surrounded by gardens

and orchards. The houses in these Canadian villages are all built of mud and small boulders, or paving stones, generally one story high, and with doors divided in the middle transversely. The lower part being shut to keep the children in, and the upper being open, the women lean out and talk to each other across the street, in the most primitive style imaginable.

McKenzie, 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. 1 Drum and 12 Private men.

Its the Commanding officers orders that all the Regt. get their Arms and Cloathing Clean and in good order, and appear Under Arms to morrow morning at Seven o'clock on the field as they are to be Reviewed by the Genl — the officers commanding Comp's, to give in an Exact field Return to the Adj't. to morrow at Seven o'clock. The Officers Commanding Companys to give a Return of what Camp Kettles they have in charge and of what they want to Compleat at a Kettle to Six Men — the Return to be given in to the Quartermaster this Evening at 4 o'clock; the officers will give particular orders to their Men to do no Damage to the Barns where they are Lodged, and be very Carefull of fire, and Particularly not to smoke in the Barns; any of the Soldiers that is found Guilty of Meddling with any of the Inhabitants Effects may Depend on Being Punished According to the Martial Law.¹ The sick men that are Quartered in the Country are to be Removed to the Village that they may be Convenient to the Doctor. An Officer of Each Compy to Attend this Evening at 4 o'Clock and Receive what Arms they want to Compleat their Comp'nys.

¹ It is evident that St. Leger, notwithstanding the superciliousness with which he affected to treat the enemy, acknowledged, in his own mind, the necessity

both of conciliating the inhabitants, and of doing nothing which would prejudice them against the royal cause.

—27th. *P.* St. Leger. *C.* Ireland. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corporal, 1 Drum, and 11 Private Men. Lieut. McDonnell Officer of the Day.

The Commission'd officers and Non Commission'd, Drums and Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to be Under arms to morrow morning at 7 o'clock for Exercise; Jessup's Corps are to be at Point Clair to be Exercised till Further orders.

—28th. *P.* Carleton. *C.* Burgoyne. For Guard to morrow Lieut. Walker 1 Sergt. 1 C. 1 D. 11 Pr.

Its the commanding officers Orders that the officers Commanding Companys give in a Return this Evening at 4 o'clock to the Qur Master of what Cloathing they want to Compleat their Compys & that the Men Attend to morrow morning at 8 o'clock at the Taylors Shop to have their Measures taken. The Officers Commanding Compys to give in thair Monthly Return to the Commanding officer to morrow morning at 9 o'clock. The Regt to be Under Arms to morrow morning at 7 o'clock for Exercise. Its the Commanding [officer's] orders that Thomas Miller & John Palmer be Appointed Corpls in Capt Brown's Compy, and James Plant Appointed in Capt. Daleys Compy. in the room of Corporal McGrigar who is transferred to Capt Browns Compy. Francis Albrant soldier in the Colls

Compy to attend the Qur Master and Do no Other Duty for the future.

—29th. *P.* Phillips. *C.* Frazer. For Guard to morrow Ens Crothers 1 S. 1 C. 1 Drummer and 12 Privat men.

The Officers Commanding Companys to See that the taylors keep steady at the Cloathing till finished, no Excuse to be taken: the Regt to be under Arms at 6 o'clock Every morning while the weather is Good; and in the afternoon firing Ball.

—30th. *P.* Johnson. *C.* Watts. For Guard to morrow Ens Crawford 1 Sergt 1 Corpl 1 Drummer & 12 Private men.

The Commanding Officer Desires that officers Would be more Particular in Giving the Monthly Returns—Field Returns, Morning Reports, Reports of the Sick, or any other Returns that may be Wanted Relative to Military Duty—& that they Would furnish themselves with a Copy of the Different Returns that they may have occasion for: the Regt to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Lachine at an hours Warning.

—31st. *P.* Col. McLean. *C.* Majr. Small¹. For

¹ Selected in honor of Major (afterwards Colonel) Small, a British officer in the Southern department, who, in marked contrast to the cruelties enacted by the English officers generally, showed great kindness to the American prisoners.

Indeed, such was the known character of Col. Small, that a billet presented by him was regarded as a distinguished mark of favor; security from insult and from any species of imposition being inseparable from his presence. "What," exclaims

Guard to morrow Ens Phillips 1 Sergt 1 Corpl
1 Drum & 12 Private men

The Regt to March to La Chine to morrow Morning at 6 o'clock—the Officers & Men to carry no more Necessarys with them than what they want for 9 or ten Days to Shift themselves with, what Baggage the men Leave behind to be put in the Store this Evening at 4 o'clock; & every Compy's Baggage by itself—the Quarter Master Sergt to see that there is Cloathing taken for the use of the Recruits which the Taylors are to make at Lachine; what Cloathing is finished to be Given Out to the Recruits; & Sergt Hillyer to pack up what is not finish'd to be Carri'd along to Morrow. 1 S 1 C & 12 Old Men to be left behind as Guard for the Stores & to Attend

Garden, "must have been the delightful sensations of his heart, who, idolized by his own troops, saw himself, at the same time, coveted as a friend and revered as a protector by the helpless families of the enemy with whom he contended! The sympathies of his benevolence shielded them from harm, and was repaid with ten-fold gratitude. He assuaged their sufferings and relieved their wants; and every prayer which they offered to Heaven, was mingled with ardent solicitations for blessings on his head." So heartily was this humane conduct appreciated by Gen. Green, that, towards the close of the war, he visited, under a flag of truce, that general by the latter's cordial invitation, the visit being free from every restriction. After the war, Col. Small meeting Garden in London, told him the following anecdote in these words "I have been sitting this morning to Col. Trum-

bull for my portrait, he having done me the honor to place me in a very conspicuous situation in his admirable representation of the battle of Bunker hill. He has exhibited me as turning aside the bayonet aimed by a grenadier at the breast of Gen. Warren. I would certainly have saved his life if it had been in my power to do so, but when I reached the spot on which his body lay, the spark of life was already extinguished. It would have been a tribute due to his virtues and to his gallantry, and to me a sacred duty, since I am well apprised, that when, at a particular period of the action, I was left alone and exposed to the fire of the whole American line, my old friend Putnam saved my life by calling aloud 'kill as many as you can, but spare Small,' and that he actually turned aside muskets that were aimed for my destruction."

the Sick. Surgeons Mate to Remain in Point Clair to take Care of the Sick untill further Orders—the Regt not to fire Ball this After noon. A Cart will attend Each Company to Carry the Officers Baggage & the Men's Provisions. Compy Duty for Gd. 2 Privates.

LACHINE.

1777 June 1st. P. [—] C. [—] For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl 12 P men. Lieut McKenzie Officer of the day.

The Officers to Attend Roll call every Evening and morning and make the Report to the Commanding Officer. They are to take particular Care that the men shall not be straying from their Quarters: the Regt to be under arms at 6 o'clock to Morrow morning: the Taylors to begin Directly to work at the men's Cloathing and to keep Close at them till they are finished; they are to work in Mr. Pridones Garret.

—2d. P. New York.

The guards to be mounted every morning at 7 o'clock—rolls to be call'd twice every Day; in the morning after guard mounting and in the evening after retreat beating at 7 o'clock—All officers to attend at the head of their Company—all beats to be taken from the 34th Regt—the troops to be exercised 3 times a day for an hour each time—the commanding officers will observe the kind of Discipline laid down by Colonel St.

Leger¹. The kings royal regiment of New York to Fire balls by Divisions till Further orders—the hours of exercise will be half after 4 in the morning, at mid Day and at half past 5 in the evening—it is understood that the mid Day exercise is to be For the guard men only for whom some shady place will be chosen by the Commanding officer—a weekly state of the Different corps to be given in every monday morning to lieutenant Crofts. For the future a subalterns guard to be mounted consisting of one subaltern

¹ Barry St. Leger entered the regular army on the 27th of April, 1756, as ensign of the 28th regiment of Foot, and coming to America the following year, he served in the French war, learning the habits of the Indians and gaining much experience in border warfare. That he profited by this early training is evident from the fact that when he was chosen by George III (at Burgoyne's recommendation) to be the leader of the expedition against Fort Stanwix, he justified their confidence in his advance from Oswego by his precautions, as shown by the orders given from day to day in this *Orderly Book*, by his stratagem at Oriskany, and by his general conduct of the siege of Fort Stanwix up to the panic produced by the rumor of the approach of Arnold which forced him to raise it. Indeed, as Hon. Ellis H. Roberts says in his admirable address at the Oriskany Centennial, "that he was a wise commander, fitted for border warfare, his order of march bespeaks him."

After his unfortunate expedition against Fort Stanwix, he was promoted in Nov., 1780, to colonel in the army, the highest rank he ever attained; and commanding scouts and rangers on the northern frontier, under the immediate command of General

Haldimand, then lieutenant governor of Canada, he occasionally carried on a guerilla warfare, his head-quarters being at Montreal. It was he, who, in the summer of 1781, proposed the plan for the capture of Gen. Schuyler which, however, failed in its object. In the autumn of the same year (1781) St. Leger, in obedience to the orders of Haldimand, who was anxious to persuade Vermont to throw herself into the arms of her legitimate sovereign, ascended Lake Champlain, with a strong force to Ticonderoga, when he rested in the expectation of meeting the Vermont commissioners Ira Allen and Joseph Fay, meanwhile a rumor of the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown was wafted along upon the southern breeze, the effect of which was such upon the people, as to induce Allen and Fay to write to the British commissioners with St. Leger, that it would be imprudent at that particular conjuncture for him to promulgate the royal proclamation, and urging delay to a more auspicious moment. The messenger with these despatches had not been longer than an hour at the head-quarters of St. Leger at Ticonderoga, before the rumor respecting Cornwallis was confirmed by



Barry St. Leger

COL. BARRY ST. LEGER.

one sergeant one Corporal 1 Drummer and 18 privates. The 34th regt to furnish to morrow 1 subaltern 1 corporal 1 Drummer and 5 privates; the King's royal regt of New York and Jessup's Corps to Furnish 1 sergeant and 13 private men.

—3d. P. Johnstown. A Strict and Punctual Adherence to all orders Given, is the life and soul of Military Operations; without it Troops are but confus'd & ungovernable multitudes ever liable to Destruction & sure never to acquire honour to themselves or gain advantage to their Country: therefore Col. St Leger Acquaints the Troops he has the Honour to Command, that the few Necessary Orders he means to give Must

an express. The effect was prodigious. All ideas of farther operations in that quarter were instantly abandoned; and before evening of the same day, St. Leger's troops and stores were re-embarked, and with a fair wind he made sail immediately, back to St. John's

St. Leger possessed decided literary and scholastic talent, as is abundantly proved both by his letters to Burgoyne and the British Ministry and by his book which he afterwards published entitled "St. Leger's Journal of Occurrences in America."

We do not, however, quite agree with Mr. Roberts when he says that St. Leger was "prompt, tenacious, fertile in resources, and attentive to detail." He certainly made a most undignified retreat, and has moreover, been accused by his subaltern officers of a want of energy. Campbell, also, who was an industrious as well as a careful and painstaking historian, and had many conversations with those who knew St. Leger and in other

ways, had ample facilities for verifying his facts, writes, that St. Leger was in a state of intoxication during most of the time his forces lay before the fort. His lack of judgment is also clearly demonstrated by Col. Claus in his letter to the Secretary (see note on Claus in advance). O'Callaghan, speaking of St. Leger, says, that when he died, in 1789, he had acquired no distinction in his profession, and rather intimates that this was singular. It does not, however, appear to us singular if the statement of his intemperate habits is correct. But although he was evidently a polished gentleman and an accomplished scholar, his encouragement of Tory and Indian atrocities while on this expedition, such as offering in general orders \$20 for every American scalp, which *cannot be denied*, fully justifies the phillipic of Arnold when he characterized him as little better than a barbarian. In this connection however, it is but justice to state that many of the British

Instantly and privately [be] attended to without Discretionary Interpretations whatsoever. A Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34 Regt, 1 C. 1 Drum. & 6 Privates: Kings Royal Regt N. York, 1 Subaltern 1 Sergt & 12 Private.

Regt orders, for Guard to Morrow Ens Mc Kenzie.

officers did not approve of the cold-blooded villainies of the Indians and Tories (Tories should have been named first, for they often excelled the Indians in bloodthirstiness and did things at which the latter, even recoiled in horror). General Carleton (Lord Dorchester), General Haldimand and even Burgoyne were among this number; and Haldimand, indeed, went so far as to refuse to see Walter Butler when after the Cherry Valley massacre he went to Quebec.

It will be observed that for the purposes of the expedition against Fort Stanwix, St. Leger received, as mentioned in the text, the local rank of *brigadier*. To explain this, which has given so much trouble to all historians from Dr. Gordon down to Col. Stone and Judge Campbell, it is only necessary to state that the British service recognized a number of military commissions which are unknown in others, among them "acting," "territorial" and "local." For instance, in the cases of Carleton and Clinton, they were full generals in America, but only lieutenant generals elsewhere. This explains how Ferguson is variously known as *line major*, *brevet colonel* and *territorial brigadier general* for the command of militia. This also explains why so many officers of this expedition have at different times such various ranks, as for instance, McLean, Rouville, Gray, etc. *Gen. J. Watts dePeyster; Knox; O'Callaghan; Ed.* By the courtesy of Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, R. I., we append to the above sketch, the following notice of St.

Leger, which will appear as a note to Gen. Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*, soon to be published. Gen. Rogers says:

"Barry St. Leger, a nephew of the fourth Viscount Doneraile, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in or about the year 1737. He entered the British military service as an ensign in the 28th Foot, April 27, 1756, and the next year accompanied his regiment to America where it served under Gen. Abercrombie. He seems to have been allowed to jump the grade of lieutenant, and he was promoted to a captaincy in the 48th Foot, then likewise in America, March 24th, 1758. He participated in the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758, and accompanied Wolfe to Quebec in 1759, participating in the battle on the Heights of Abraham. The last order, given by the dying Wolfe was, 'Go, one of you, my lads to Colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment' (the 48th) 'with all speed to Charles's river to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.' St. Leger, who was in Webb's regiment, behaved gallantly near the bridge in checking the flight of the French, and was slightly wounded. In July, 1760, he was appointed brigade major preparatory to marching to Montreal, and he became major of the 95th Foot, August 16th, 1762. Upon that regiment's being reduced at the peace of 1763 he went upon half-pay. He became a lieutenant colonel in the army, May 25th, 1772, and the lieutenant colonel of the 34th Foot, May 20th, 1775.

—4th. *P. King George.* Detail of the Guard for to Morrow; 34th Regt 1 Corpl 1 Drumr & 6 Pr. Kings Royal Regt of New York 1 Sergt and 12 privates.

Regt Orders for Guard to Morrow Ens Crawford.

—5th. *P. Burgoyne.* Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th Regt 1 C. 1 D. 7 P.; R. Yorkers 1 S. 12 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 1 C. 7 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P.

—6th June. *P. Gray. C. Ancrum.* Every

"The Annual Register for 1773, under date of April 7th, contains a notice of the marriage of "Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger, nephew of the late Lord Viscount Doneraile, and fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Lady Mansel, widow of Sir Edward Mansel, of Trinsaran, South Wales."

"In the spring of 1776 his regiment formed a part of the re-inforcement sent over to Sir Guy Carleton, and he accompanied it to Canada. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and the next year, acting as a brigadier, he led the force which was intended to move from Oswego by the way of Oneida Lake and Wood creek to the Mohawk, thence down the river to Albany, where a junction was to be effected with Burgoyne. The termination of the affair, so unfortunate for its commander, is well known. His report to Gen. Burgoyne of his operations before Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, dated Oswego, August 27th, 1777, is to be found in the appendix of the State of the Expedition.

"Sir Guy Carleton evidently thought St. Leger lacking in vigor in disciplining his troops, as shown by the former's letter to Gen. McLean, which is as follows :

* HEAD QUARTERS, }
QUEBEC, 24th July, 1777. }

* * Lieut. Col. St. Leger may be informed that he ought to have seized and sent down here in irons those Canadians whom he mentions having held such conversations to, and occasioned the desertion of, Capt. Rouville's company. Two men for each deserter are to be demanded, upon pain of military execution, from the parishes to which the deserters belong; and the captains of militia are to be enjoined to find the deserters themselves, and safely conduct them to where you shall direct, in order to their being sent prisoners to the companies from which they deserted, there to be tried and punished."

"September 23d, 1777, St. Leger's force was sent to Ticonderoga to be subject to Gen. Burgoyne's orders, but, as communication with Burgoyne was interrupted, St. Leger did not proceed south of Ticonderoga, and when that fortress was abandoned in November of that year, he returned to Canada. He became a colonel in the army November 17th, 1780, and a brigadier general in the army in Canada, October 21st, 1782, his command consisting of the troops 'on the

Soldier off Duty or Regt work must be under Arms at the times appointed Except those notyfy'd by the Surgeon as too ill to appear—the want of any part of their Necessarys will not be admitted as an Excuse. Coll: St. Ledger thinks proper to observe to the Kings Royal Regt of New York, That the Surest Method of Making the Noble & honorable zeal they have Lately manifested to their King and Countrys interest

Island of Montreal, Isle of Jesus, Miller Island as far as Couteau du Lac upon the north, and from thence to La Prairie exclusive on the south side of the river St. Lawrence.' He was commandant of his Majesty's forces in Canada in the autumn of 1784, and his name appears in the army lists for the last time in 1785. Wm. C. Bryant, in the *American Historical Record* for 1874, p. 435, says he died in 1789, when he was a little past fifty years of age.

"It is not easy from the data that have come down to us to form a clear idea of St. Leger's character. His letter to Gen. Schuyler, dated November 7th, 1781, in reference to some of the latter's silver that had been plundered by a British scouting party, does not reflect upon St. Leger discreditably, but his duplicity in trying to induce the garrison of Fort Schuyler to surrender, cannot legitimately be included under the term, military strategy, and his message holding out the terrors of unrestrained savage allies was so barbarous that Col. Willett characterized it as 'a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry.' The testimony of Squire Ferris, likewise, who was an American prisoner in Canada in the spring of 1779, is of the most unflattering description. Speaking of a party of fellow prisoners who had attempted to escape, Ferris says, 'for four days before they

were retaken, they had nothing for food but tea, and were so weak they could hardly walk. The forces at St. John's were commanded by Col. St. Leger, a brutal drunkard, who ordered the prisoners to be ironed together, and put them in a dungeon for fourteen days, at the end of which time, and ironed hand in hand to each other, they were sent to Chamblee, and from there by the rivers Sorel and St. Lawrence to Quebec.'

"Authorities: *Army Lists*; *Stone's Burgoyne's Campaign and St. Leger's Expedition*; *New York Colonial Hist. Doc.*, VIII, 714; *Annual Register* for 1773, p. 160; *Swift's History of Middlebury*, VI., p. 92; *Quebec Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1784; *Haldimand's Papers, Register of Letters from Sir G. Carleton, 1776-1778*, Vol. II, p. 24; *Idem, General Orders by Sir Guy Carleton and Gen. Haldimand, 1776-1783*, p. 208; *Idem, Register of Letters from Sir Guy Carleton to various persons, 1776-1778*, Vol. I, p. 627; *Magazine of American History*, VI, p. 289; *Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett*."

Upon St. Leger's return home after the war, he was stationed for a time in Dublin, where he seems to have led a rollicking kind of life with a few choice spirits like himself. One of his adventures during his stay in that city is given (as illustrative of this period of his life) in Appendix, No. III.

take the Effect they ardently wish for, as well as to Repossess themselves of the peace & property which has been most illegally wrested from them, is to give a Constant & unwearied attention to the learning of Military Discipline which will give them Superiority over the Confused Rabble they have to deal with.¹ All orders Relative to the men to be read to them at the Evening Parade By an officer of each Compy. Detail of the Gd. for to morrow : 34th Regt 1 C. 1 D. 5 P.; K. R. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 8 P.; Jessup's Corps 5 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P. Ens Byrne for Guard to Morrow.

—7th. P. Oswegatchie. C. Fort Stanwix. Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 8 P.; Kings Royal Regt N. York 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 12 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 1 C. 6 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P. Ens Wall for the Guard to Morrow.

—8th. P. St. Johns. C. Oneida. A Weekly

¹ St. Leger, like Clinton, and in fact, every English officer at this time except Burgoyne (after his defeat) and the good and wise Carleton, seems to have entertained a supreme contempt for his American foes. Still, Sir John Johnson, from his intercourse with his father, should have known better, since Sir William, in a letter to the Ministry, written shortly before his death, particularly warns them against entertaining the erroneous impression that the Americans *were not brave and would not fight*. Stone's *Life of Sir Wm. Johnson*.

The word "Rabble" however, appears

to have been a favorite one with Sir John, notwithstanding his subsequent hard experience, since in a letter to Joseph Brant, under date of May 16th, 1787, he writes: "I must own I give little credit to the reports of the American's preparations to attack the Posts; * * but even such an attempt can only be made by the lawless rabble on the southern frontiers". British regulars, however, were never just to provincials or militia even of their own side. They gave them invariably the hardest work and no gratitude. See *Stedman and de Peyster*.

State[ment] shall be given in to Morrow Morning to Lt. Crafts of the Strength of each Corps. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 6 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 D. 7 P. Jessup's Corps 5 P.

GENL ORDERS.—the Corps Under the Command of Coll St. Leger to be Paid Subsistence to the 24th of August.

—9th. *P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips. General Ordes*—When any Calash¹ or Carts, horses or Men are wanting for the service, Application must be Made for an Order from Coll St Leger, the officers and Non Commiss'd officers being in every Sense Responsible for the behaviour of their men must keep a Strict eye Upon their Conduct. By which Means a stop will be put to the Frequent Complaints Made that are not only Dishonourable to a Soldier but some Deserving the Cord.²

¹ The calash is a carriage very generally used in Lower Canada, and there is scarcely a farmer, indeed, in the country who does not possess one. It is a sort of one horse chaise, capable of holding two people besides the driver, who sits on a kind of box placed over the foot-board expressly for his accommodation. The body of the calash is hung upon broad straps of leather, fastened to iron rollers that are placed behind, by means of which they are shortened or lengthened. On each side of the carriage is a little door about two feet high, whereby one enters it; and which is useful when shut, in preventing anything from slipping out. The harness for the horse is, even to the present day, made in the old French fashion, extremely heavy and

cumbersome. It is studded with brass nails; and to particular parts of it are attached small bells, "of no use that I could ever discover," naively says Weld, "but to annoy the passenger." Those tourists, who have visited Quebec and have taken one of these unique conveyances (the only ones, in fact, to be procured) to visit the Falls of the Montmorency, will, on reading this, readily recall his own particular calash and driver with his little red cap and pipe, which he hired on that occasion!

² It is a great pity that when St. Leger was so particular in enforcing discipline among his regulars, he did not apply the same principles of humanity to the conduct of his Indians. Indeed, it is a well

A Patrol must go from the Main Guard at Tattoo Beating, which is to make Prisoners of all soldiers or Non Commiss'd Officers they find in them— They are likewise to order to their Cantonments all Stragglers.

known fact substantiated by the affidavits of Moses Younglove and others, that St. Leger not only offered a reward for each scalp brought in by the Indians, but also in various other ways, encouraged cruelty among his dusky allies. There are many instances to prove this; let one or two suffice. Col. Gansevoort, writing to Gen. Schuyler from Fort Stanwix, under date of June 26th, 1777, says: "Col. Madison was killed and scalped. Capt. Gregg was shot through his back, tomahawked and scalped, and is still alive." "About noon," also says the late Col. Stone in his account of this expedition, "on the 3d of July, Col. Willett was startled by the report of musketry. Hastening to the parapet of the glacis, he saw a little girl running with a basket in her hand, while the blood was trickling down her bosom. On investigating the facts, it appeared that the girl, with two others, was picking berries, not two hundred yards from the fort, when they were fired upon by a party of Indians and two of the number killed. One of the girls killed was the daughter of an invalid, who had served many years in the British Artillery. He was entitled to a situation in the Chelsea Hospital, but had preferred rather to remain in the cultivation of a small piece of ground at Fort Stanwix, than again to cross the ocean."

The statement of Younglove, moreover that St. Leger offered a reward for scalps, bears the stamp of probability. Certainly, in the war of 1812, when the principles of humanity might be supposed to be further advanced, the British government, to put it mildly, approved, at least, of the taking of scalps by the Indians.

In the manuscript history of the 16th Pennsylvania Infantry in the service of the United States during the war of 1812, commanded by Col. Cromwell Pearce, occurs this passage: "In the reports of brigade Major Charles D. Hunter and Lieutenant Hayden of the fatigue party who buried the dead at the battle of York, Upper Canada, now Toronto, made to Cromwell Pearce, colonel of the 16th U. S. Infantry, and upon whom the command devolved after the death of Gen. Zebulon M. Pike, they say: 'A human scalp was found suspended in the Legislative Hall near the speaker's chair, an emblem of the manner and spirit in which his Britannic Majesty carried on the war.' Of this and some other trophies Commodore Chauncey gave the following account in a letter to the secretary of the navy: 'Sir: I have the honor to present to you, by the hands of Lieutenant Dudley, the British standard taken at York on the 27th of April last, accompanied by the mace, over which hung a human scalp. These articles were taken from the Parliament House by one of my officers and presented to me. The scalp I caused to be presented to General Dearborn, who, I believe, still has it in his possession.'" See *Stewart Pearce, in the American Historical Record*, vol. III, p. 420. Before, however, dismissing this subject, the reader should, in justice to St. Leger, be referred to that officer's letter to Lieut. Bird printed in this volume just after the Orderly Book. At the same time, it may be remarked that facts prove more than general declarations on paper.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. Yorkers 2 S. 1 C. 15 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 1 C. 4 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

REGT ORDERS—A Regtl Court Martial to sit to Morrow Morning at 11 o'clock, Lt. Singleton President. Members—Ens Burne, Ens McKenzie, Ens McDonell & Ens Phillips, to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—10th. P. Castle Johnson.¹ C. Fort Hunter. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th to Give 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. R. N.Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 3 P. Total 1 L. 1 C. 18 P.

R. O. Its the Commanding Officers Positive

¹ Castle, or Fort Johnson, an old massive stone mansion on the north bank of the Mohawk, two and a-half miles west of the village of Amsterdam, N. Y., and seen by the traveler on the right-hand side of the west-bound train. It was built by Sir William Johnson, in 1742 (where he resided some twenty years previous to his erection of Johnson Hall at Johnstown, N. Y.), and went by the name of Fort Johnson, Castle Johnson and Mount Johnson. A writer, in giving an itinerary of the Mohawk Valley between Oswego and Albany, in 1757, thus describes Fort Johnson: "Col. [Sir William] Johnson's mansion is situate on the border of the left bank of the river Mohawk. It is three stories high; built of stone, with port-holes (crenelees) and a parapet and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion, there are two small houses; that on the right of the entrance is a

store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard-gate is a heavy swing gate well ironed; it is on the Mohawk river side; from this gate to the river there is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there [now the N. Y. Central R. R.]. A small rivulet coming from the north empties itself into the Mohawk river, about 200 paces below the enclosure of the yard. [This stream is now called 'Old Fort Creek.']. On this stream there is a mill about fifty paces distance from the house; below the mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. 150 paces from Colonel Johnson's mansion at the north side, on the left bank of the creek, is a little hill on which is a small house with port-holes, where is ordinarily kept a guard of honor of some twenty men, which serves also as an advanced

orders that the Men do Not wear their shoes when they go out a fishing.

G[ENERAL] AFTER ORDERS. At the Evening Exercise After the priming and loading Motions are over, the 34th and K. R. R. N. Y. will be Joined, the 34th making the Right Wing, while the others form the left. This Body will be Exercis'd by Lt Crofts of the 34th Regt.

—JITH. P. [——]. C. [——]. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt to give 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C, 14 P.; Jessup's Corp S. 5 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C, 1 D. 28 P.

G. O. A field Return of each Corps to be given to Lieut Crofts whenever the Men are Un-

post." The mansion is still (1882) standing, a substantial specimen of the domestic architecture of that period.



A mile and one-half east of Castle John-

son is "Guy Park," long the residence of Col. Guy Johnson, the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William. Like Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall, it was often the scene of Indian conferences, among the most noted of which was a council held between the Mohawk nation and delegates from the Albany and Tryon County Committees, in May, 1775, on which occasion Little Abraham, the principal sachem of the Lower Mohawk Castle and the brother of King Hendrick, killed at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was the chief speaker. At the beginning of the public excitement in 1775 the "Park" was abandoned by Col. Guy Johnson, who accompanied by his family and a few faithful Indians, fled, by way of Oswego, to Montreal. It is yet (1882) standing (the first stone house west of Amsterdam and greatly enlarged from the original) on the banks of the Mohawk, and on the left of trains going west.

der arms for the Information of the Commanding officer—Its Lieut Coll Sir John Johnsons orders that the Commissioned, Non Commissioned officers Drummers and Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt of New York attend Exercise Every Day for the future at the hour appointed. Ens Phillips for Guard to Morrow.

—12th. P. Sopees. [Esopus, N. Y.] C. Kenderwhoffe. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34th Regt to give 1 S. 5 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 4 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P.

—13th. P. Howe. C. Cornwallis. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34th Regt to give 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P. K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 14 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 5 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

G[ENERAL] O[RDERS]. As Cleanliness and a Strict Attention to Duty are Indispensable Necessaries in a Soldier, Colonel St Leger Desires the troops Under his Command may be Immediately furnished with Necessarys & Each a black Stock. Officers must Inspect their Men Every morning, when they will correct any Man that comes Slovenly to the Parade; they will Likewise Remember that for the future he will impute to their Inattention the un-Soldier Like Parade he Observed this Morning.

HEAD QUARTERS MONTREAL

—17th June 1777. G. O. Those Regments & other Departments who have not Rendered Receipts for provisions & Rum are desired to send forthwith the three Receipts of the same tenor & Date According to a form Sent for that purpose to Complete a Settlement with the Commissary Genll to the 24th of May; the troops intended to Remain in Canada & Stationed in the District of Montreal to Report [to] Brigr Genl MacLean.¹

¹ Colonel Allan MacLean, of Torloish, and a warm friend of Sir John Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, with both of whom he frequently consulted, was, in 1747, lieutenant in the Scotch Brigade, which also went by the name of the "Dutch Brigade," from the circumstance of its being at the time in the pay of the States General. In cutting his way through the French lines at the famous siege of Bergen op Zoom, Lieutenant MacLean was taken prisoner and immediately admitted to parole by General Lowendahl, with this complimentary address: "had all conducted themselves as you and your brave corps, have done, I should not now be master of Bergen op Zoom." Having left the Dutch service he obtained a company in the 62d or First Highland Battalion on its organization in 1757. With this regiment whose number was afterwards changed to the 77th, he came to America and served under Forbes at the taking of Fort Du Quesne, in 1758, and, in the following year, was with Amherst in the expedition up the northern lakes. He raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759, of which he was appointed major commanding; but

it was reduced, in 1763, and Major MacLean went on half-pay. On 25 May, 1771, he became lieutenant colonel in the army, but was not again called into active service until 1775, when the scheme was concocted to raise men in America to support the royal cause. With that warrant and some followers, Col. MacLean came to New York in the spring of 1775; next visited Boston, where his scheme got wind; then hastened back to New York; repaired to Col. Guy Johnson on the Mohawk river, and thence proceeded to Oswego and so to Canada, where he collected in the course of the summer, a body of men, chiefly Scotch refugees and disbanded soldiers, formerly belonging to the 42d, 77th and 78th Highlanders, under the title of the Royal Highland Emigrants." On the approach of the American army by Lake Champlain, Colonel MacLean was ordered to St. Johns with a party of militia but got only as far as St. Denis when he was deserted by his men. Quebec being next threatened by the American army under Arnold, Col. MacLean made the best of his way to that city, which he entered on the 12th November, 1775, just in time

—18th June 1777. Promotions. His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following Promotions in the Army Under his Command :

Royal R. N. Y. Alex. McDonald¹ to be Capt in the Room of Lieut. Brown who returned to the 31st Regt—6th June, 1777.

to prevent the citizens surrendering the place to the Americans. His conduct during the siege is mentioned in the handsomest terms. But after all his zeal, his corps was not yet recognized, though he had at the outset been promised establishment and rank for it. He therefore returned to England, where he arrived on the 1st September, 1776, to seek justice for himself and men. Returning to America, he did good service; and during the Burgoyne campaign he was often trusted by Sir Guy Carleton. This is evident from the fact that, after the failure of St. Leger's expedition, Carleton (according to the Haldimand papers) ordered McLean to take command of Lt. Col. St. Leger's corps and the 31st Regiment, together with a detachment of artillery under Lieut. Glenney to go to Brig. Gen. Powell's relief, who at last accounts, had been attacked and besieged at Ticonderoga by the American Col. Brown." The 31st and the artillery detachment were to return to Canada after the object of the errand was accomplished, but Lt. Col. St. Leger, and the rest of the troops sent, were to be subject to Gen. Burgoyne's orders. His regiment, however, were not received until the close of 1778, when the regiment, which consisted of two battalions, one in Canada and one in Nova Scotia, became the 8th Foot. In January, 1780, he was appointed colonel in the army. The Royal Highland Emigrants were disbanded in 1783 and Col. MacLean died in 1784. *Callaban Army*

Lists; Brown's Highland Clans, iv, 242, 307, 368; *Smith's Canada*, ii, 83; *Garnau's Canada*, 2d Ed., ii, 436; *American Annals*, i.

¹ Alexander McDonald and the John McDonald, mentioned a line or two in advance, were Tory roman catholic Scotchmen, who, until the beginning of hostilities, had resided in the vicinity of Johnstown in the Mohawk Valley. Having been permitted by Gen. Schuyler to revisit their families, they, in the month of March, 1777, again ran off to Canada, taking with them the residue of the roman catholic Scotch settlers, together with some of the loyalist Germans, their former neighbors. In 1778, Alexander McDonald, who appears to have been a man of considerable enterprise and activity, collected a force of three hundred Tories and Indians, and fell with great fury upon the frontiers, the Dutch settlements of Schoharie, especially, feeling "all his barbarity and exterminating rage." One example of his cruelty and bloodthirstiness is given by Sims, in his *Trappers of New York*, as follows:

"On the morning of October 25, 1781, a large body of the enemy under Maj. Ross, entered Johnstown with several prisoners, and not a little plunder; among which was a number of human scalps taken the afternoon and night previous, in settlements in and adjoining the Mohawk valley; to which was added the scalp of Hugh McMonts, a constable, who was

John McDonald¹ to be Capt Lieut. in the Room of Capt Lieut Hewetson—19th June, 1777.

Ens William Byrne to be Lieut in the Room of Lieut Grant—6th June, 1777. Volunteer Lipscomp to be Ens vice Byrne, Do.

surprised and killed as they entered Johnstown. In the course of the day the troops from the garrisons near and the militia from the surrounding country, rallied under the active and daring Willett, and gave the enemy battle on the Hall farm, in which the latter were finally defeated with loss, and made good their retreat into Canada. Young Scarsborough was then in the nine months' service, and while the action was going on, himself and one Crosset left the Johnstown fort, where they were on garrison duty, to join in the fight, less than two miles distant. Between the Hall and woods they soon found themselves engaged. Crosset after shooting down one or two, received a bullet through one hand, but winding a handkerchief around it he continued the fight under cover of a hemlock stump. He was shot down and killed there, and his companion surrounded and made prisoner by a party of Scotch troops commanded by Capt. McDonald. When Scarsborough was captured, Capt. McDonald was not present, but the moment he saw him he ordered his men to shoot him down. Several refused; but three, shall I call them men? obeyed the dastardly order, and yet he possibly would have survived his wounds, had not the miscreant in authority cut him down with his own broadsword. The sword was caught in its first descent, and the valiant captain drew it out, cutting the hand nearly in two." This was the same McDonald who, in 1779, figured in the battle of the Chemung, together with Sir John and Guy Johnson and Walter N. Butler.

¹ This officer, of Sir John Johnson's regiment, was killed in the battle of Oriskany by Capt. Jacob Gardener, an officer, who during that memorable day, performed prodigies of valor. The circumstances of his death were as follows: At the beginning of the action, Johnson's "Royal Greens" (so called, unofficially, on account of their green coats), disguised themselves as American troops and by this *ruse* approached very near to Herkimer's command before the trick was discovered. "Johnson's men continued to advance until hailed by Gardener, at which moment one of his own soldiers, observing an acquaintance, and supposing him a friend, ran to meet him, and presented his hand. It was grasped, but with no friendly gripe, as the credulous fellow was dragged into the opposing line and informed that he was a prisoner. He did not yield without a struggle; during which Gardener, watching the action and the result sprung forward, and with a blow from his spear levelled the captor to the dust and liberated his man. Others of the foe instantly set upon him, of whom he slew the second and wounded a third. Three of the disguised Greens now sprang upon him, and one of his spurs becoming entangled in their clothing, he was thrown to the ground. Still contending, however, with almost superhuman strength, both of his thighs were transfixed to the earth by the bayonets of two of his assailants, while the third presented a bayonet to his breast, as if to thrust him through. Seizing this bayonet with his left hand, by a sudden wrench he brought its owner

To Sir John Johnson or officer commdng
the Royal Regt of New York.

WM DUNBAR, Majr of Brigade.¹

LACHINE

1777, June 14th. P. Connecticut. C. Philadelphia.

G. O. The party of Artillery Under Lieut Glennie² to be Reinforced Immediately by a Corpl & 20 Men from the 8th, 34th, & Kings Royal Regt of New York—8th & 34th Regt will give 5 each & the New York Regt 10—the 8th Regt will give the Corpl.

Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34 Regt 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 S. 2 S. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 C. 3 P. Ensn Crothers for guard to morrow.

—15th. P. Trenton. C. Burlington. Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 Privates; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 14 Privates; Jessup's Corps, 5 Privates.

G. O. A Corpl and 10 private Men with

down upon himself, where he held him as a shield against the arms of the others, until one of his own men, Adam Miller, observing the struggle, flew to his rescue; as the assailants turned upon their new adversary, Gardenier rose upon his seat, and although his hand was severely lacerated by grasping the bayonet which had been drawn through it, he seized his spear lying by his side, and quick as lightning planted it to the barb in the side of the assailant with whom he had

clinched. The man fell and expired, proving to be Lieutenant McDonald, one of the loyalist officers, from Tryon country."—*Stone's St. Leger's Expedition.*

¹ This officer was captured with Gen. Prescott on the fleet while attempting to escape from Montreal to Quebec, in November, 1775.

² See note in advance, under Captain Rouville.

hand hatchets to go to Morrow to lower Lachine at 5 o'clock to cut boughs to Cover the Batteaux. As Coll. St. Leger wishes not to take the K. Regt of New York from their Exercise the Above Party is to be given by the Detachment of the 34th Regt. Officer of the Guard to Morrow Ens McDonell. Compy Duty Gd S. 1 C. D. 4 P.

AFTER ORDERS. Its Lieut. Colonel Sir John Johnson's orders that Capt. Lt. McDonell, Wm Byrnes & Ens Richard Lipscom do Duty in this Compy.

Lieut. Morrison, Lieut. Anderson & Ens Phillips in Major Gray's Company. Lieut. James McDonell and Ens Allan McDonell in Capt Angus McDonell's¹ Compy, Lt. Kenneth McKenzie, Lt George Singleton and Ens John McKenzie in Capt. Watt's Compy, Lt. Richard Walker and Ens. Crothers in Capt. Dally's Company. Lt.

¹ Angus McDonell was taken prisoner at the battle of Oriskany, and afterwards transferred, for greater safety, to the southern portion of the state. The following is the parole which he gave to the authorities :

"I, Angus McDonell, lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American regiment, now a prisoner to the United States of America and enlarged on my parole, do promise upon my word of honor that I will continue within one mile of the house of Jacobus Hardenburgh, and in the town of Hurley, in the county of Ulster; and that I will not do any act, matter or thing whatsoever against the interests of America; and further, that I will remove hereafter to such place as the governor of

the state of New York or the president of the Council of Safety of the said state shall direct, and that I will observe this my parole until released, exchanged or otherwise ordered.

ANGUS McDONELL.

Kingston, 12th Oct., 1777."

Whether Angus McDonell violated his parole, if indeed, he was released, we are not informed. It is, however, certain that he, as well as Allen McDonell mentioned in the text as ensign in his company, was the following year, transferred to Reading, Pa., where both were kept as hostages of Sir John Johnson. See *Journals of Congress for the year 1778*, p. 119, 368.

Grummerfolk and Ens Craford in Capt Alexr McDonells, Lt. Moure [Moore?], Lt Wilkeson & Ens Walle in Capt Duncan's compy, till further orders.

—16th. P. Newark. C. Boston. Capt Ancrum¹ is appointed to Do the Duty of Adjut Genl assisted by Lieut. Crofts, Lt. Lundy², Deputy Qr. Mr Genl, Mr Piety conductor of artillery,

¹ Major Ancrum was the officer sent by Brigadier St. Leger to Col. Willett to summon the garrison to surrender. Speaking of this Col. Willett says: "The success with which the sortie from the fort was attended, added to the loss the enemy and especially the Indians had sustained in the action with General Herkimer, created considerable uneasiness in the enemy's camp. The afternoon of the next day the beating of the chamade and the appearance of a white flag was followed by a request that Col. Butler who commanded the Indians, with two other officers, might enter the fort with a message to the commanding officer. Permission having been granted, they were conducted blindfolded into the fort and received by Colonel Gansevoort in his dining-room. The windows of the room were shut and the candles lighted, a table also was spread covered with crackers, cheese and wine. Three chairs placed at one end of the table were occupied by Col. Butler and two other officers who had come with him. At the other end Colonel Gansevoort, Colonel Mullen and Colonel Willett were seated. Chairs were also placed around the table for as many officers as could be accommodated, while the rest of the room was nearly filled by the other officers of the garrison indiscriminately, it being desirable that the officers in general should be witnesses to all that might take place. After passing around the wine with a few commonplace compliments, Major Ancrum,

one of the messengers, with a very grave stiff air and a countenance full of importance spoke in nearly the following words: 'I am directed by Colonel St. Leger, the officer who commands the army now investing the garrison, to inform the commandant, that the colonel has with much difficulty prevailed on the Indians to agree that if the garrison without further resistance shall be delivered up with the public stores belonging to it, to the investing army, the officers and soldiers shall have all their baggage and private property secured to them. And in order that the garrison may have a sufficient pledge to this effect, Colonel Butler accompanies me to assure them that not a hair of the head of any one of them shall be hurt.' * * * Col. St. Leger's deputation seeing no likelihood of their terms being acceded to, asked permission for the surgeon who accompanied their flag to visit such of their wounded prisoners as had been taken in the sortie. This was granted; and while the British surgeon in company with Mr. Woodruff, the surgeon of the garrison was visiting the wounded, Major Ancrum proposed a cessation of arms for three days. As the garrison had more reason to fear the want of ammunition than provisions this proposition was agreed to; soon after which the flag returned to their camp and the troops of the garrison enjoyed a brief interval of tranquility and ease."

² See note in advance on Capt Rowville.

who are to be obeyed, as such; orders coming thro Lt. Hamelton¹ and Ens Clergis² are to[be] Looked Upon as from the commanding officer of the Expedition—the corps of the Batteau Guard is to send a written Report Every morning to the officer of the Main Guard which will Report it to the commanding officer.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., L. 1 S. C. D. 5 P.; Kings R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps, L. S. C. D. 4 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P.

—17th. P. Fairfield. C. Newhaven.
G. O. The corps under the command of Col St. Leger to hold themselves in Readiness to march on the Shortest Notice.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., 1 L. 1 S. C. 1 D. 13 P.; Ks. R. R. N. Y., L. 2 S. 2 C. D. 15 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

REGTL ORDERS. The Commission'd NonCommission'd Officers Drums & private men of the Kings Royal Regt of New York to be under Arms to Morrow Morning at 5 O'clock—the officers will be very particular that their mens Arms are in Good Order & their Regtls Clean so as to appear Decent at the Genl. Review. Company Duty 4 P.

¹ William Osborn Hamilton, St. Leger's private and military secretary.

² Lieutenant George Clerges of the 34th regiment. He entered the British army

as ensign in the 53d, July 10, 1776; exchanged into 34th, January 1, 1777; became a lieutenant therein November 5th, 1782, and appears last in army lists in 1783.

—18th. *P.* Edinburgh. *C.* Inverness.

G. O. 34th Regt takes the Guard to Morrow.
For Guard to morrow *Ens* Clergis.

REGTL ORDERS—the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd Officers, Drums & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt of N. York; to be Under arms this Evening at 5 o'clock.

—19th. *P.* Swansey. *C.* Monmouth. Forty eight Batteaux to be Delivered to the Royal Regt of New York; Forty Five Felling axes & 3 broad axes to be Delivered to that Regt. Seventy Five Felling axes and two broad axes [for] the use of the 34th regt which are to be distributed amongst the boats at the discretion of the respective commanding Officers. A number of thole pins to be provided for each boat according to the patterns given to the carpenter, wooden Punches to be made by the boats crews—two fishing lines & hooks in proportion to be delivered to each boat. The K. R. R. N. Y. are to take 440 barrels of provision allowing 10 barrels each for 44 Batteaus—the rum or brandy delivered out is to be put into the officer's boats for security—his excellency the commander in chief has pleased to appoint Rville [Rouville¹] esqr to be captain in a Comp. of Canadians in the room of Capt McKay Resigned—he is to be obeyed as such—the royal Regt of New York to give the

¹ Lieutenant de Rouville, at one time, "a good officer, very vigilant and active, in command of Chambly. Described as ever ready to do his duty exactly."

guards to morrow. Lieutenant Gummerfolk.
For guard to morrow. 1 L. 2 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

AFTER ORDERS. The K. R. R. V. York to be compleated with 14 days provision commencing Saturday the 21 June—their boats to be loaded at the Kings stores on Friday, and from thence brought up to their quarters the same day to be ready to push off at point of day on Saturday—their Division is to be supplied with three pilots, LeCatargne the quarter master is to give a receipt for the number of barrels and the specie the division carries to the commissary at Lachine and is to be accountable for them. It is expected that the several captains have laid in necessaries for their men for the campaign.

—20th. P. Hartford. C. Milford. The 34th Regt to take the Guards to morrow. Ens Phillips 1 Sergt. 1 Corl & 32 Privates to Be left at Lachine in order to go with the baggage of the K. R. R. N. Y. over Lake Champlain to Crown Point & then proceed after the army under the command of General Burgoyne with the baggage as far as Albany if he should proceed to that place—ten old men to Be left at Point Clair.

—21st. Forty boats to contain 400 barrels of provisions & 7 of rum—the remainder to be left at Colonel St. Leger's Quarters—the barrels to be distributed in such proportion as to make room for the Officers & their baggage. Major

Gray must see that the companys provided according to seniority. The Capt. or Officers commanding compys to be in the front—the oldest Sublts in the rear and the youngest in the center—34 precedes; squads of boats abreast when practicable. As Sir John has reason to apprehend from the many Companys that have been made that there may be many [ir]regularities committed by the men [he] recommends it in a particular manner to all the officers.

BUCK ISLAND¹.

1777, July 8th. P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips.

¹ Buck's or Carleton Island, called by the French *Isle aux Chevreuils*, from the fact that the deer frequented it, as it had good pasturage. In passing on the steamboat down the St. Lawrence river from Cape Vincent, the tourist will observe a number of stacks of old brick chimneys standing near the shore on the left side, which are upon "Buck's Island." The inhabitants near it have always affected a great mystery in regard to the origin of these fortifications, but, in truth, there is no mystery about them. Bouchette, in his *History of Canada*, published in 1815, states, that Carleton Island was converted into a large magazine or dépôt for military supplies and general rendezvous in 1774-75 by the British government in anticipation of trouble with her American colonies. We should infer, even if Rochefoucault de Liancourt, in his travels, did not say so expressly, that the name of the island was changed to Carleton in honor of that general who was then in command of Canada. The stacks of chimneys still to be seen are probably the remains of those "ovens" to which the Orderly Book refers, in which the bread for the troops

was baked. The English government reserved this island in its sale to Macomb; and, in 1796, a corporal and three men were in charge. The island, however, had evidently been fortified by the French many years before 1774, the time spoken of by Bouchette; for Count Frontenac mentions it as one of his stopping places, in 1696, in his expedition against the Onondagas, at which time, Captain du Luth was left on the island with a garrison of forty men, masons, etc., with orders to "complete the fort." Dr. Hough, in his *History of Jefferson County*, gives the following interesting account of the present appearance of the ruins. "The ruins of Fort Carleton, on 'Carleton' or 'Buck Island,' are the most interesting relics of the olden time within the county of Jefferson. The island, when first observed by our settlers, was partly cleared. It has an undulating surface, is composed of Trenton lime-stone, and is very fertile. The surface near its head, where the fort is located, rises by an easy grade to a spacious plane fifty feet above the river (St. Lawrence) which is precipitous in front and overlooks a small palisade but

For Guard Ens Crawford. I S. I C. I D. & 16 P. the Batteaux to be taken up to the store to morrow morning at 4 o'clock and Unloaded, & such as wants repairing to be drawn up; the Taylors of the Regt begin to work to morrow morning to compleat the mens cloathing.

—9th. P. Frazer. C. Powel. Lieut Burnet of the Kings Regt to act as Adgt to the Division till further orders. A return of the strength of each corps to be given in at twelve o'clock. Capt Potts will direct liquor to be given to the troops

little elevated above the water, and affords on each side of the island, a safe and ample cove for the anchorage of boats. The area under the hill was completely protected by the works on the heights above; and from its great fertility afforded an abundance of culinary vegetables for the garrison. Traces occur, showing that cannon were planted on conspicuous points; and the trace of a submerged wharf is still seen, as are also wrecks of vessels in the bottom of the river adjacent. In the rear of the works may be seen the cemetery, but time has defaced the inscriptions upon the headstones except on one grave, which has the following:

"I. Farrar,

D. 23 Fy., 1792."

Forty years ago carved oaken planks were standing at many of the graves. Several chimneys are seen outside of the entrenchments, and on the plain in front of the fort, about a dozen still stand within the works which are built of stone in a permanent and massive manner, the flags being very small and the bases enlarged and well founded. Near the brow of the hill is a circular well about ten feet in diameter, and supposed to be as deep, at least, as the level of the river; but being partly filled with rubbish, this

cannot be determined. Here are also excavations supposed to be for magazines. The plan of the fort shows it to have been after Vauban, and forms three-eighths of a circle of about 800 feet diameter, the abrupt face of the hill, which was doubtless protected by a stockade, not requiring these defences which were furnished to the rear. The ditch is excavated in rock, four feet deep and twenty-two feet wide. The covert way is twenty-four feet wide; the counter-scarp vertical; the outer parapet four feet high, and the glacis formed of material taken from the ditch. The rampart within the ditch was of earth, and is very much dilapidated; ravelins were made before each reëntered angle; and at the alternate salient angles, bastions were so placed as to command the fort at its various approaches very effectually. No knowledge is derived from settlers of the character or the number of the enclosed buildings, except that a range of wooden block-houses, within the entrenchment, was occupied by a corporal's guard and a few invalids. The premises had fallen into decay, and were entirely without defensive works. A few iron cannon were lying on the beach, or under the water near the shore; and the gates had

when at work as he shall think proper according to the service they perform.

REGL. ORDERS. Lt. McDonell, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. & 16 P.

—10th. GENL ORDERS. by Brigadier Genl St. Leger. Lt. Colonel St. Leger is appointed to act as Brigadier Genl; Chevelier St. Oaris appointed Lt. in Capt. Buvilie's [Rouville's] Compy of Canadians. Two Subalterns and 50 men to attend the Deputy Qr Master General to Clear Ground sufficient to exercise the army; the party

been robbed of their hinges for the iron which had been pawned by the soldiers. The premises have at all times furnished a great abundance of relics, among which were coins, buttons, etc., whose inscriptions and devices, without exception indicate an English origin, and a period not earlier than the French war. The figures '34,' '22,' '29,' '84,' '21,' '31,' etc., which occur on the buttons found, often accompanied by the device of the thistle, anchor, crown, etc., doubtless designate the regiments to which their wearers belonged. This station was used by the English during and after the Revolution and garrisoned by invalid troops. Having carefully examined every author we have been unable to ascertain the precise time of the erection of this fort. It certainly did not exist before 1758 [Dr. Hough is not speaking of the fort built by Frontenac but of the more modern one] as it does not occur in any of the list of stations previous to that period; but a MS. is preserved among the Paris documents in the archives of the State at Albany, that throws some light upon the subject. From this it appears that, in November, 1758, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, at that time, governor of Canada, had drawn up

a paper on the defences of that country, which was submitted to the Marquis de Montcalm for his revision, and met with his entire approval. He proposed to send 1,500 men to defend the approaches of Canada, on the side of Lake Ontario, by the erection of a post at the head of the St. Lawrence and laid out after the plans of M. de Fonteloy, who was to be sent for that purpose. The station, thus chosen and fortified, would, at, the same time, become the head of the frontier and an entrepôt for every military operation in that quarter, instead of Frontenac, 'which can never be regarded as such, as the English might enter the St. Lawrence without exposing themselves, or giving any knowledge of their passage.' The place was to be made susceptible of defence by an army and have magazines for stores and barracks for the lodgment of troops in the winter. It was intended that the proposed work should be adequate with those lower down for the defence of the latter; and it was designed to put in command an active, disinterested and capable man to accelerate the work and render the operation complete. Such a man the chevalier was considered to be, and he was accordingly named as the per-

to be furnished with proper Utensils for that purpose. The Kings Regt. and the 34th form one Corps [and] will encamp on the right. The Hessian Chasseurs on the Left, and the R. R. of New York in the center, Lt. Collerten will choose out the proposed ground on the Right of the Army for his party of Artillery and will begin Immediately to prepare Bark Huts for His Ammunition. The Irregulars will be arranged by the Deputy Qr Master Genl. Colonel Close [Col. Daniel Claus] will take ground for the Indian Allies.

Signed Wm Crofts, Lt 34th Regt.

son to have the chief direction and command of the work. Such are the outlines of the plan; and the means within our reach have not enabled us to learn whether or not they were carried out to the extent contemplated at that time. No one can stand upon the spot occupied by this ruin and survey its natural advantages for defence, the ample bay for shipping which it overlooks, and the complete command of the channel which it affords without being convinced that its site was admirably chosen, and that, in its selection, the projectors were guided by much discretion."

Mr. L. B. Pike, of Saratoga Springs, who takes great interest in such matters, and who, having spent many summers on the St. Lawrence, has made a study of this island, writes to me as follows, under date of Aug. 9th, 1881: "Carleton, or Buck's Island is situated about five miles down the St. Lawrence from Light House Point and east of Cape Vincent, and is probably three miles long by half a mile broad. Fort Carleton was at the extreme west end of the island; for, at the present time, there is nothing left of the fort save a few chimneys with their fire-places,

both of which are in a perfect state of preservation, the latter being thirty feet high. The well, which was dug for the use of the garrison inside of the walls through a sandstone rock and which is one hundred and fifty feet deep, is still intact. The fortifications extended from one side of the island to the other, making access to the water easy on either side. The island, which is quite precipitous, is one solid piece of rock having a layer of earth on the top two feet and one-half in depth. This soil is quite fertile and sustains several beautiful farms and orchards. For three-quarters of a mile west of Carleton Island the water is so shoal that, at times, a row-boat can scarcely be taken over it. Very deep water is then met with, and finally another shoal which runs out from the eastward of Wolf Island. The distance between these shoals is about forty rods. The fishing along the shoals for bass and muscalonge [Mr. Pike is the champion fisherman of that region] is the best in this part of the river. 'Wolf Island' [originally called Wolf Island, then Long Island and now again Wolf Island, see *Bouchette*] lies some two miles west

For this Duty Ks Regt 1 L. 16 P. ; R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 34 P. For Guard Ens McKenzie.

It is the Commanding officer's Orders that Jos. Locks & John Laurance be appointed Sergts in Capt Duvan's Compy ; Jacob Shall, Wm. Taylor, Phillip Coach, Corpls in said Compy and be obeyed as such.

and up the river from Carleton Island. Button Bay on its east end, was undoubtedly the regular camp of the Indians employed in either the French or English service, perhaps both, for, at the present time, you may pick up stone arrow-heads in the water. Three years ago, several feet of the shore of Button Bay was washed away by a strong east wind, disclosing a large Indian burial ground. Here my daughter and Mr. H. M. Livingston of Saratoga Springs found some large Indian spears and innumerable arrow-heads, and also some skulls. These skulls, which were incased in mica (the work of the Indians before burial) were even to the teeth as well preserved as if they had been found in a peat bed. At this point a mound was discovered. The skeletons found in it showed that the burials had taken place in a time of peace, as the bodies had been laid in perfect order instead of having been hurriedly piled promiscuously on top of each other. Another circumstance which leads me to suppose this to have been an Indian camp during our early colonial history, is that people have often found here musket barrels, very long, like the old fashioned French fowling-pieces. I send you with this letter a remarkably perfect arrow-head, I found at this place a week since."

Carleton Island was also, during the Revolution used as a rendezvous whence General Haldimand was in the habit of sending out scalping-parties to annoy our

frontiers. Thus, Col. Daniel Claus in writing from Montreal to Thayendangea (Brant) under date of March 3d, 1781, says :

"The General [Haldimand] has for some time intended sending a party of about sixty chosen loyalists, under the command of Major Jessup, toward Fort Edward ; this party might join you against Palmerstown [near the present village of Saratoga Springs, N. Y.,] could you ascertain the time and place, which might be nearly done by calculating the time your express would take to come from Carleton Island, your march from thence, and Major Jessup's from Point au Fez, alias Nikadiyooni. * * * Should you upon this adopt the general's offer and opinion, and proceed from Carleton Island to Palmerstown, which place I am sure several of Major Ross's men and others at the island are well acquainted with, I wish you the aid of Providence with all the success imaginable ; in which case it will be one of the most essential services you have rendered your king this war, and cannot but by him be noticed and rewarded ; your return by Canada will be the shortest and most eligible, and we shall be very happy to see you here." And, again, as a postscript to the same letter, he writes : "P. S. The great advantage of setting out from Carleton Island, is the route, which is so unexpected a one, that there is hardly any doubt but you will surprise them, which is a great

—11th. P. Fort St. Ann.¹ C. Noadwilley.

G. O. Lt. Crofts of the 34th Regt is appointed Major of Brigade for this expedition. Guards to Mount every morning at 8 o'clock, the Retreat to be at 7 o'clock in the evening and tattoo at 9 o'clock. An officer of each Corps to attend for Genl Orders at the Major of Brigades's tent every Day at 12 o'clock. One Sergt and 8 private men of Captain Buvelles Company of Canadians to parade to Morrow morning to go to Oswegatchie for Provisions and 4 privates will parade at the same hour, who will receive further orders from Lt. Rudyard Engineer.

REGTL O. For Guard to morrow, 1 S. 1 C. D. 8 P. men. Ens McKenzie is to do [duty] in Capt McDonell's Compy, Ens Crothers in Major Grays, & Ens Crawford in Capt Daly's till further orders.

The officers commanding compys to give in their Monthly Return to morrow morning at 6 o'clock and be very carefull that they are not false. Compy Duty Gd 1 D. 3 P.

—12th. P. Gray. C. Mohock River. His Majesty has been Pleased to appoint Coll. Claus²

point gained. Whereas, were you to set out from Canada, there are so many friends, both whites and Indians, to the rebel cause, that you could not well get to the place undiscovered, which would not do so well. D. C."

I am also indebted to Mr. B. B. Burt, of Oswego, N. Y., for valuable information about this island.

¹ Not to be confounded with Fort Anne in Washington Co., N. Y. The Fort St. Anne here mentioned was situated on the upper portion of the island of Montreal, and was often the object of Iroquois attacks. One of the wards of the city of Montreal still retains the name.

² Colonel Daniel Claus or Clause, as

to be superintendent of the Indian Department on this expedition ; A Sub. of the Day is constantly to remain in Camp who will see all publick orders executed and to whom all reports of any thing extraordinary will be made for the information of the Brigadier. All orders relative to the Soldiers shall be read to them at the Evening Parade by an officer of the Company. For fatigue to morrow—K's Regt 22 P. ; K's R. N. Y., 1 S. 36 P. ; Canadians, 1 S. 12 P. The Kings Regt to Give the Sub. of the Day to morrow.

the name is sometimes written, was probably a native of the Mohawk valley, where he acquired in early life a knowledge of the Iroquois language, and was in consequence attached as interpreter to the department of General Sir William Johnson, whom he accompanied as lieutenant of rangers in the expedition against Dieskau. In 1756, he was appointed lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American regiment, and continued at Johnstown, or thereabouts, until 1759, when he accompanied the expedition to Niagara, whence he went with the army to Montreal, where he was stationed as superintendent of the Canadian Indians. On the 6th of July, 1761, he was promoted to a captaincy in the 60th but went on half-pay in 1763, on the reduction of his regiment. Having returned to Fort Johnson, he continued to act as one of Sir William's deputies, and in 1766, assisted at the treaty concluded with Pontiac at Lake Ontario. In 1767, he went back to Canada, but did not remain there, for having married one of the daughters of Sir William Johnson, by whom he was greatly beloved, he resided near Johnstown until the breaking out of the Revolution, when he retired to Canada. He visited England with Grant in 1776, and arrived in Quebec, 1st June, 1777, with a commission as deputy super-

intendent of, and with instructions to bring the Indians to coöperate with the British army in the campaign of that year. He accordingly accompanied those tribes in the expedition against Fort Stanwix under Brigadier General St. Leger, who commended his exertions on that occasion. Col. Claus, however, did not, by any means reciprocate these sentiments of St Leger. In a letter, dated at Montreal, Oct. 16th, 1777, he complains bitterly of the obstacles which had been thrown in his way in assembling and equipping with arms and vermillion the Indians under his command, and plainly hints that the failure of the expedition against Fort Stanwix was due to the lack of judgment on the part of its commanding general. "The Missisagues and Six Nations," he writes, "St. Leger intended should accompany him in an alert [i. e., a scouting party] to Fort Stanwix by a short cut through the woods, from a place called Salmon creek on Lake Ontario, about twenty miles from Oswego, in order to surprise the garrison and take it with small arms. Between sixty and seventy leagues from Montreal my reconnoitering party returned and met me with five prisoners. I immediately forwarded the prisoners to the Brigadier [St. Leger] who was about fifteen leagues in our rear. * *

—13th. P. Carleton. C. McClain [McLean]. The state of provisions at this post to be given by the D. Commissary general as soon as possible this day [to] the Brigadier—no bisquet to be delivered but by his particular orders, or small barrels of pork to be broke open; no arrears of provisions to be recd at this post; such persons as may have any rations due to them to this day and properly certified to the D. C. General may receive the value of them in cash, the usual drawback being made at 6½ pds. ration, or a certificate from him that such Rations are due, which will

On St. Leger's arrival within a few leagues of Buck Island, he sent for me, and talking over the intelligence the rebel prisoners gave, he owned that if they intended to defend themselves in that fort, our artillery was not sufficient to take it. * * * I told him that having examined them separately they agreed in their story. And here the Brigadier [St. Leger] had still an opportunity and time of sending for a better train of artillery and waiting for the junction of the Chasseurs, which must have secured us success, as every one will allow. However, he was still full of his *alert* [the scout] making but little of the prisoners' intelligence. On his arrival at Buck Island the 8th July, he put me in orders as superintendent of the expedition and empowered me to act to the best of my judgment for his Majesty's service in the management of the Indians on the expedition as well as what regarded their equipments, presents, etc., he being an entire stranger thereto. There was then a vessel at the island which had some Indian goods on board, which Col. Butler had procured for the expedition but upon examination I found that almost every one of the above articles I demanded at Montreal were deficient and a mere im-

possibility to procure them at Buck Island had I not luckily provided some of those articles before I left Montreal, at my own risque, and with difficulty. Brigadier St. Leger found out thirty stands of arms in the artillery store at Swegachy and I added all my eloquence to satisfy the Indians about the rest." Col. Claus consequently found himself finally greatly out of pocket for sums advanced by himself for the Indian expenses of the expedition; and Carleton putting off payment on various pretexts, he was obliged to go to Montreal to arrange matters with the people from whom he had obtained the Indian goods. "Such like freques and jealousies," he says, "I am afraid have been rather hurtful to our northern operations last campaign." After peace was declared, he went to England to obtain some remuneration for his losses, as his name had been included in the outlawry act, and his property confiscated. He died at Cardiff, Wales, in the latter part of 1787. His wife survived him thirteen years and died in Canada in 1801. His son succeeded him as deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in Canada. Col. Claus's early and long connection with the Indian departments as interpreter ren-

be delivered from the Kings Stores at a more convenient time; no person to draw more than one ration pr day viz: $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb of flour, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of Beef or 10 oz. of pork, & such troops as choose to draw one pound of flour pr. day shall receive from the D. Q. master General the value weekly of the remainder at $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.; all public store[s] not immediately pertaining to any particular corps to be put in charge of the Detachments under the orders of Capt Potts of the King's Regt. at this post; the Detachment of the King under the Command of Capt Lanotts's will furnish a relief of 1 Sergt 1 Corpral and 12 privates every day to the above Detachment. The D. Quarter-master General will direct a hut to be built immediately within the lines of the incampment of Capt Potts's Detachment to receive all publick stores and is to be sufficient to protect them from the weather; each Corps shall receive under their

dered him thoroughly conversant with the Iroquois tongue. His services were therefore highly useful in superintending the publication of a correct translation into the Mohawk language of the *Book of Common Prayer*, one thousand copies of which were ordered by Gov. Haldimand, at the request of the Mohawk Indians to be printed under the supervision of Col. Claus, "who," the preface states, "read and understood the Mohawk language so as to undertake the correction of the book for the press." This edition soon became exhausted; thereupon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts resolved to have a new edition printed, especially as Col. Claus, who was in England at the time, consented to super-

intend the impression, critically revise the whole, and correct the sheets as they came from the press. "His accurate knowledge of the Mohawk language," continues the preface, "qualified him for the undertaking; and it is no more than justice to say, that this is only one out of many instances of this gentleman's unremitting attention to the welfare of the Indians." Col. Claus lived for a number of years in a large stone house which stood a short distance west of "Guy Park" the residence of Sir Guy Johnson. (See preceding note under Castle Johnson.) It was burned down many years since. *N. Y. Col. Doc.; N. Y. Doc. Hist.; Gentleman's Magazine; Stone's Life of Brant, Ed.*

charge a certain number of Boats; all the over-plus boats for publick stores will come under the charge of C. Potts's Detachment and Each Corps will be answerable for the particular attention for the safety of the boats given unto their charge, and to report to the Superintendent any repairs they may want. Each corps after Expending what provisions they have recd, to draw weekly their rations, and they will sign an order for all provisions drawn for such persons on this Expedition in his majestys service who do not belong to any particular Corps. Colonel Claus will ascertain the number of Indians absolutely necessary to be fed at this post of which he will give directions to the Brigades who will give directions that the S. rations be issued dayly to the Indians, and Colonel Claus will appoint a person from the Indian Department who speaks the Missaga [Misissagua] language to attend the delivery of said provisions which by him is to be Recd in bulk delivered in Camp to Indian Department, and the D. Commissary General will deliver no provisions to any person but under the assignment of Commanding officers of Corps and detachments and the Deputy Quartermaster General. Lieut. Burnet of the King's Regt is appointed Superintendent of the King's Batteaux. For Fatigue to morrow. King's Regt, 16 P.; 34th Regt, 1 S. 17 P.; R. Y., 2 L. 1 S. 27 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. gives the Subaltern for the day to morrow.

REGTL ORDERS. For guard to morrow Ens Lipscomb, 1 S. 1 C. and 10 privates. S. Crawford of M. Gray's Comp'y to do duty. [illegible] McDonell's Comp'y.

C. Campbell is appointed Sergt in Major Gray's Company in the Room of S. Crawford. John Raley is appointed Corpl, in M. Gray's Company in the Room of Corporal Campbell. The officers commanding compans to be very particular that the mens arms and accutrements be in good order as they are to be reviewed to morrow at Guard mounting; all the Boats that want repairing in the different compys their numbers to be given in immediately to the Quartermaster. Lieut Anderson officer for the day to morrow.

—14th. MORNING ORDERS. All leaky and damaged batteaux' belonging to the different

¹ The batteaux of the army (afterwards known as "Durham boats," or barges) and the canoes of the Indians, formed so important a part of the Expedition, that a description of them, gathered from *Bouchette* and *Weld*, will be of interest. Batteaux were flat-bottomed boats, having

the currents and rapids. The sides were about four feet high, and for the convenience of the rowers, four or five benches were laid across, sometimes more, according to the length of the batteau. Four men managed them in summer, but, in the fall, another rower was always added. "It is,"



says Weld, "a very awkward sort of vessel, either for rowing or sailing, but it is preferred to a boat with a keel for two

a plank around them to walk on or to pole, from thirty-five to forty feet long, each extremity terminating in a point: six feet of beam in the centre; usual weight, four and one-half tons; worked by oars; a mast sail; capable of carrying 1,500 lbs. of cargo; drag ropes for turning, and long poles for "setting" them through

very obvious reasons: first, because it draws less water, at the same time that it carries a larger burden; and secondly, because it is much safer on lakes or large rivers, where storms are frequent. A proof of this came under our observation the day of our leaving Montreal [this was in 1796]. We had reached a wide part

corps to be immediately hauled on shore and turned up on their own ground, ready for repair under the directions of Lieut. Burnet, and any boats that may have been drawn up before the present directions of ground took place not within the the present line of incampment and to be Immediately Launched, and brought to the ground of their Regiment to prevent confusion. Mr. Charles Miller is appointed Batteau Master in the room of Mr. Kuysak and is to be attended [obeyed] as such.¹

of the river, and were sailing along with a favorable wind, when suddenly the horizon grew very dark, and a dreadful storm arose, accompanied with loud peals of thunder and torrents of rain. Before the sail could be taken in, the ropes which held it were snapped in pieces, and the waves began to dash over the sides of the batteaux, though the water had been quite smooth five minutes before. It was impossible now to counteract the force of the wind with oars, and the batteau was consequently driven on shore, but the bottom of it being quite flat, it was carried smoothly upon the beach without sustaining any injury, and the men leaping out drew it up on dry land, where we remained out of all danger till the storm was over. A keel-boat, however, of the same size, could not have approached nearer to the shore than thirty feet, and there it would have stuck fast in the sand, and probably have been filled with water." For a graphic description of the manner in which these batteaux were handled and propelled by the batteaux-men, and an account of the habits of this class of boatmen, see note in advance, under date of the 17th of June.

From La Chine to the North-west, canoes were and still are, employed by the fur-traders. They seldom exceed thirty feet

in length, six feet in breadth, each end, like the batteaux, terminating in a sharp point. The frame is composed of small pieces of light wood covered with birch-bark, cut into convenient slips, sewed together with threads from the twisted fibres of roots of trees that grow in the woods. These canoes are made watertight by being covered with a sort of gum that adheres firmly, and becomes perfectly hard. No iron-work of any description, not even a nail, is employed; and when complete the canoe weighs about 500 lbs. In managing the canoes, the Indian uses but his paddle and makes his way with amazing expedition. "It was on one of these Indian canoes," says Sergeant Lamb in his Memoirs, "that General Sir Guy Carleton, accompanied by an *aide de camp*, passed undetected through the enemy's fleet from Montreal to Quebec, to put the city in a state of defence."

¹ Mr. Miller was succeeded by Captain Martin, whose tragical fate, revealing, by the way, the treachery of St. Leger, is thus referred to in the affidavit of Moses Younglove, a part of which is quoted in a preceding note. "Capt. Martin, of the batteaux-men," says Younglove, "was delivered to the Indians at Oswego on pretence of his having kept back some

Signed, W. Ancrum, D. Ajt. General.

A return of the number of caulkers and carpenters belonging to the different corps to be given in Immediately to the D. A. G. and they will be ready to attend Mr. Burnet at one o'clock.

P. Brunswick. C. Kent. No person whatsoever to trade rum or any spirituous liquors for any thing which the Indians may have to dispose of; those people will be Informed by their officers that it is necessary to have the C. S. to pass the centries and guards of the Comp—and they will strongly recommend to them not to leave their incampment after dark lest they should be subjected to Inconveniencies from the difficulty of pronouncing or Remembering the pass-word; no Soldier or any of the Corps Canadians on any account to fire their arms unless to discharge them after bad weather and then in the presence of an Officer—No trader on this Island to sell any Rum or spirituous liquor without the assignment of Capt Potts of the King's Regt¹; any

useful intelligence." "Moses Younglove," writes his grand-nephew, Moses Younglove, a prominent and influential citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, to the author, under date of Aug. 2d, 1881, "was a man of strong convictions and decided character, not easily turned from any settled purpose." As stated in a preceding note, Moses Younglove was a man of great truthfulness and of sterling integrity.

¹ The history of this regiment is an exceedingly interesting one, and is as follows:

When James, Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II, engaged in rebellion against his uncle, James II, in 1685, corps of cavalry and infantry were quickly raised for the support of the crown, and Robert, Lord Ferrars of Chartly, whose father, Sir Robert Shirley, Bart., was one of the sufferers in the royal cause in the time of Charles I, was appointed to the command of one of these corps raised on that occasion; which, having been continued in service to the present time, now bears the distinguished title of the "8th or KING'S REGIMENT OF FOOT." It was in the battle of the Boyne; and, as

officer wanting such things will send their orders to be countersigned by him to prevent forgeries and Impositon; the guard of the camp not to turn out but once a day to the Brigadier nor are they to take notice of him unless in his Uniform. Sergt Killigrew of the 34th Regt is appointed provost Martial at 2s-6d pr day for the Expedition and to be obeyed as such; his guard to be proportioned to the number of prisoners; a Corporal and 4 private men from the line to mount at the usual time to morrow morning for this duty; all prisoners Except those styled officers

mentioned in the Introduction, at the sieges of Limerick, Dublin and Kinsale. It served with bravery from 1696-1701, in the Netherlands, Ireland and Holland; and, in 1702, on the elevation of the Princess Anne to the throne, was designated "The Queen's Regiment." It was among the first to storm the citadel at the siege of Liege in the same year (1702). In the following year, it was at the siege of Huy and Limburg; and, in 1704, took part in the great battles of Schellenberg and Blenheim. At Helixem, it forced the French lines. After the suppression of the rebellion headed by the Pretender and the Earl of Mar in 1716, the regiment was stationed a short time at Glasgow, at which time, George I showed his appreciation of its good behavior on all these occasions by conferring on it the distinguished title of "The King's Regiment of Foot." On obtaining this title, the facing of the uniform was changed from yellow to blue, and the regiment was authorized to bear the WHITE HORSE as a regimental badge with the motto *NEX ASPERA TERRENT*. In 1777, at the time of Burgoyne assuming the command of the expedition

from Canada, the protection of a portion of the Canadian frontiers was confided to it; the regiment also furnishing a detachment of one hundred men for St. Leger's command, in his campaign against Fort Stanwix. In 1809, it assisted in the capture of Martinique. Again, in the war of 1812, it greatly distinguished itself. It participated in the actions at Fort George and Sackett's Harbor, Chippawa and Niagara; and was also at the siege of Fort Erie and at the battle of Plattsburg where it captured the stand of American colors, which Gen. Sir George Prevost sent to England to be laid at the feet of his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent. *The Historical Record of the British army* (London, 1844) thus concludes a sketch of this regiment. "Distinguished by a long period of meritorious service, including heroic conduct in numerous battles and sieges which reflect lustre on the British arms, and by excellent behavior under all the circumstances of colonial and home service, the 8th or the King's Regiment possesses a high and an untarnished reputation, and ranks among the corps which, deservedly possess the confidence of the crown and kingdom."

from the Rebel army to go on all fatigues daily, a man of the Guard to attend them; the Rations pr. day for all Rebel prisoners of whatever distinction to be an oz. of pork and pound of flour¹. For duty to morrow—K's Regt, 17 P.; 34th Regt, 1 C. 16 P.; R. R. Regt, 3 L. 1 S. 1 C. 32 P.

REGT ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Ens Lipscomb. 1. 1. 2. and 20 private men. Its Major Gray's orders that an officer of a Compy shall Read to the men the Gen. Orders against trafficking with the Indians with Rum², and that the officers employed in seeing the Batteaus carried over the long Sault shall give in an Exact list of the number of Boats brought up by each squad.

—15th. P. London. C. Edinburgh. The duty of the Provost Marshal³. The care of all

¹ This order affords a glimpse of how short the rations had already become even at this early stage of the campaign.

² St. Leger, however, did not in his practice carry out these excellent orders. On the contrary, we find Col. Claus complaining greatly that owing to the action of St. Leger in this particular, he could with difficulty control those Indians under his command. "On the 24th of July," Claus writes, "Brig. St. Leger mentioned my going was chiefly intended to quiet the Indians with him, who were very drunk and riotous; and Capt. Tice, who was the messenger, informed me that St. Leger ordered the Indians a quart of rum apiece, which made them all beastly drunk, and in which case, it is not in the power of man to quiet them.

Soon after, finding the Indians were unwilling to proceed, St. Leger came away from Salmon creek and arrived the next day at Oswego with the companies of the 8th and 34th regiments and about 250 Indians." *Col. Claus to Sec'y. Knox, Oct. 16, 1777.* This conduct of St. Leger, however, may be partly solved by the fact that the English, save in the notable case of Sir William Johnson, never acquired the knack of managing the Indians. The French, on the contrary, by assimilating, marrying and affiliating with them, handled the red men admirably.

³ The attention of the reader is directed to St. Leger's admirable description of what the duties of a provost marshal should be.

prisoners taken in battle, spies and deserters is Intrusted to them forthwith; he will have a guard strong in proportion to their number; all disorders in the camp fall under his cognizance; he is to have the control of all settlers and traders selling Liquor, and have authority for Impressing such as he finds disobedient to General Orders; he is to regulate all markets that may be formed in the Camp, and appoint proper places for them, and likewise to protect with his authority and guard all persons coming with provisions to the troops; he is from time to time to send out patrols from his guard and when necessary attend them himself to take prisoners all marauders and stragglers; all his reports are to be made to the D. Quartermaster General—only for the Information of the Commander-in chief cases relative to the economy of the Comp, and to the D. A. General all Extraordinary matters; as spies, deserters, &c. &c. In cases of Executions he is to the Martial law what the Sheriff of a County is to the Civil; he is to be provided with an Executioner when this he Requests and when a more honourable death by fire arms is granted he will give the word of command; his guard is to be near headquarters.

G. O. Commanding officers of the different Corps will direct that the mens tents are struck and the rear turned up every fine day at 10 o'clock and remain so four hours at least to air them

perfectly ; their streets must be swept every morning ; no washing, cleaning of arms or accoutrements or doing any thing in them that may render them filthy and Consequently unwholesome must be suffered.

The K. R. R. of New York will Expend that part of their ammunition which [is] fit for service in firing at marks Every morning in presence of their officers. For duty—K. R. Regt, 1 L. 1 S. 17 P. ; 34th Regt, 1 L. 2 C. 15 P. ; K. R. R. N. Y., 1 L. 1 S. 32 P. 34th Regiment to give the subaltern of the Day to morrow, 1 man to be sent [as] orderly over the adjt General.

REGT. ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Lieut. Walker, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 16 private men—all the men of the R. Regt of N. Y. to fire two Rounds of Ball Cartridge each to morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

—16th. MORNING ORDERS. The Kings Royal Regt of N. York to send one Sergt and 12 careful men to the artillery at 8 o'clock to examine the Ammunition. Signed,

WM CROFTS, Major Brigade.

P. Bristol. C. Taunton. For duty to morrow K. Regt, 4 P. ; 34th Regt, 1 C. 6 P. ; K. R. Regt N. Y., 1 L. 1 C. 5 P.

Its Sir John's orders that the officers Commanding Companys Settle with their men Before to morrow night and pay them the Ballance of their accts to the 24th of August Inclusive.

Its Major Gray's Orders that [the officers] see that the men wash their cloathing and clean their arms to Morrow as there are but few men for duty ; they will likewise Examine their Necessaries of which they will give a report in writing to Major Gray.

—17th. P. Winchester. C. York. The Brigadier has the satisfaction to inform the Corps in this expedition that Fort Ticonderoga, a large Quantity of provision & artillery & stores with their whole stock of live cattle were abandoned by the rebels to the grand army the 6th instant ; that many prisoners were taken & many killed, and that at the moment the advanced corps of Indians were in hot pursuit ; the troops on this expedition to hold themselves in readiness to embark on an hours notice ; 40 Days provision for 500 men to be immediately sorted to be ready to be embarked on boats which the superintendents will point out'. Lieutenant Collorton will

* As hinted in the Introduction, this order for rations enables us forever to put at rest the long mooted question in regard to the number of men actually engaged in this expedition against Fort Stanwix. By contemporaneous writers (among them Judge Thomas Jones in his *History of New York during the Revolution*) and also by those of later date, such, for instance, as Col. Wm. L. Stone in his *Life of Brant*, Campbell in his *History of Tryon County*, Lossing, de Peyster, Roberts and others, it has invariably been stated that St. Leger's force consisted of 1,700 men, including Indians. General Riedesel, moreover (see *Riedesel's Journals*, Vol.

1st) would make it the same by his detail from the different regiments sent out ; and Dr. Dwight, who visited Fort Stanwix in 1799, gives, in his *Travels*, the number from 1,500 to 1,800 ; while in his *History of the American Revolution*, Dr. Gordon who, after all, has always stood the test for accuracy, differs from the above authorities, St. Leger's forces, by his estimate, having been only 800. Lord George Germaine, also, in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton, dated "Whitehall, 26th March, 1777," says : "It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the command of Col. St. Leger : A detachment from the 8th regiment, 100 ;

prepare ammunition For two 6 pounders' & 2 Cohorns and 50 rounds ball cartridges per man for 500 men and make a demand of the number of large boats that will be sufficient For their transports; all ovens to be set at work to bake 6 Days bread For 500 men; great care must be taken that it will be well soakt to keep in that time; each corps to find what bakers they have [and report] to the Deputy Commissary general at 10 o'clock; the kings regt, the 34, Captain Watts's Detachment, and Capt Reveil's [Rouville] corps to be compleated with 50 rounds of good ammunition Immediatly. All those corps who have it not in their own stores will make a demand on the artillery and give a receipt agreable to the forms they require; it is absolutely necessary that the officers commanding Corps should provide their men with some sort of cases to

a detachment from the 34th regiment, 100; Sir John Johnson's regiment of New York, 133; Hanau Chasseurs, 342; total, 675; together with a sufficient number of Indians and Canadians."

We are now, however, enabled to state accurately the force employed; and, as usual, we find that Dr. Gordon is more nearly correct than any other writer. If we consider that the 500 rations, mentioned in the text, were, as is probably the case, for the white troops solely, we have 500 as the number. Now, in the letter of Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, it is expressly stated that the Indians in this expedition were composed of 150 Misissagues (a tribe of the Hurons) under Claus himself, and 300 of the Six Nations under Brant. Therefore $500 + 150 + 300$ gives the number of St. Leger's force

as 950 all told; and this is without doubt a correct statement. If, however, the 500 rations *included* the Indians, the total number of white and Indian troops would be 500, a very much smaller force than 1,700. St. Leger left a portion of his force at Oswego, and refused to take more men, though strongly urged to do so by Col. Claus (*Claus to Sec'y. Knox*). Indeed, it was undoubtedly owing to the smallness of his force, caused by his foolish belittling of the enemy's numbers and bravery, that he failed to capture Fort Stanwix.

* These two 6 pounders and the two cohorns (mortars) were left behind by St. Leger in his undignified and hasty retreat and fell into the hands of the Americans. *N. Y. Calendar Rev. Papers*, Vol. 11.

keep their locks dry through the woods in rainy weather; the master of the Ship Colwheel and Mr. Miller, the Chief Ship Carpenter with any other carpenters or seamen they think proper to call For to assist or advise with, and to take an exact and particular Survey of the State and condition of the Sloop Charity, and to make the report to the brigadier in writing this Day, signifying therein whether their works and timber will admit of such repair as will enable her to sail the lakes again with any probability of safety. Lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt will preside on this survey.

For Duty to morrow K regt, 6 P.; and 34th, 1 C. 7 P.; the kings royal yorkers, 1 L. 1 C. 10 P. A return to be given in immediately by each corps to lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt of the number of batteaux¹, painters, oars, setting-

¹ The following extract from *Weld's Travels in Upper and Lower Canada in 1795-97*, a book now quite rare, will give the reader an excellent idea both of the manner in which the setting-poles were used in propelling the batteaux, and of the characteristics of the batteaux-men themselves.

"It was on the 28th of August," [1796] he writes, "that we reached La Chine, the next day the 'brigade,' as it was called, of batteaux was ready, and in the afternoon we set out on our voyage. Three men are found sufficient to conduct an empty batteau of about two tons burden up the St. Lawrence, but if the batteaux be laden, more are generally allowed. They ascend the stream by means of poles, oars and sails. Where the current is very strong, they make use of the

former, keeping as close as possible to the shore, in order to avoid the current, and to have the advantage of shallow water to pole in. The men set their poles together at the same moment, and all work at the same side of the batteaux; the steersman, however, shifts his pole occasionally from side to side in order to keep the vessel in an even direction. The poles commonly used are about eight feet in length, extremely light and headed with iron. On coming to a deep bay or inlet, the men abandon the poles, take to their oars, and strike, if possible, directly across the mouth of the bay; but in many places the current proves so strong that it is absolutely impossible to stem it by means of oars, and they are obliged to pole entirely round the bay. Whenever the wind is favorable they set their sail;

poles and paddles, specifying the size of the batteaux.

—18th. P. Onandaga. C. Fort Bull'. The advance Guards consisting of all the officers &

but it is only at the upper end of the river, beyond the rapids, or on the lakes or broad parts of it where the current is not swift, that the sail by itself is sufficient to impel them forward.

"The exertion it requires to counteract the force of the stream by means of poles and oars is so great, that the men are obliged to stop very frequently to take breath. The places at which they stop are regularly ascertained; some of them, where the current is very rapid, are not more than half a mile distant one from the other; others one or two, but none of them more than four miles apart. Each of these places, the boatmen, who are almost all French Canadians, denominate '*une pipe*,' because they are allowed to stop at it and fill their pipes. A French Canadian is scarcely ever without a pipe in his mouth, whether working at the oar or plow; whether on foot, or on horseback; indeed, so much addicted are the people to smoking, that by the burning of tobacco in their pipes, they commonly ascertain the distance from one place to another. Such a place, they say, is three pipes off, that is, it is so far off that you may smoke three pipes full of tobacco whilst you go thither. A pipe as in the most general acceptation of the word, seemed to be about three-quarters of an English mile.

"The men, who are engaged in conducting batteaux in Canada, are, as I have before observed, a very hardy race. When the weather is fair, they sleep on the grass at night, without any other covering than a short blanket, scarcely reaching down to their knees; during wet weather a sail or blanket to the weather side spread on poles stuck into the ground in an inclined direction, is all the shelter

they deem necessary. On setting out, each man is furnished with a certain allowance of salted pork, biscuit, pease and brandy; the pease and biscuit they boil with some of the pork into porridge, and a large vessel full of it is generally kept at the head of the batteaux, for the use of the crew when they stop in the course of the day. This porridge, or else cold fat salted pork, with cucumbers, constitutes the principal part of their food. The cucumber is a fruit that the lower classes of French Canadians are extremely fond of; they use it however in a very indifferent state, as they never pull it until it has attained a large size, and is become yellow and seedy. Cucumbers thus mellow, chopped into small pieces without being peeled, and afterwards mixed with sour cream, is one of their favorite dishes."

From the above extract, it may be seen that a person reading at the time it was written, the text a few sentences in advance under date of the 18th, where the expression "to be ready to *push* in the morning" is used, would not have needed the explanatory word "ahead" which we have inserted in brackets. At that time, the phrase "to be ready to push at a moment's warning" was used, and understood in reference to the *poling* operation, as if, now, one should say, "to be ready to sail in the morning," or "to be ready to row in the morning," the verb "to push" being at that time used in a strictly conventional or technical sense, and *not* as we at the present day employ the term "to push forward," i. e., "to start."

¹ Fort Bull, situated about half-way on the Oneida portage, played a prominent part in the early border warfare of New York. It had always given the French

80 rank & file of the Kings & 34th Regts, the Tribe of Misisagey Indians, with what is on the Island of the Six Nations, & the officers and rangers will move to morrow Morning at 4 o'clock.

The Kings & 34th Regts will Receive 10 Boats Each for their men & twenty days provision. The officers will be allowed a proper portion of Boats for their Baggage on their way to Oswego, those boats will be man'd by the Supernumeraries of each corps. Capt. Ruvielle's corps of Canadians will remove the same time & carry 20 Days provisions for 500 men. The Corps will be assisted by a proper number of men [from] the Ks and 34th to mount the Rapids from Oswego to Fort Stanwix¹. The provision boats as

trouble; and on the 17th of March, 1756, De Levy with three hundred men, suddenly appeared before it and summoned it to surrender. This summons, Sir Wm. Johnson having meanwhile supplied the commander with abundance of ammunition, was answered by a shower of bullets. This so exasperated De Levy that he forthwith ordered a charge, and breaking down the gate, put all but thirty of the garrison to the sword. The French officer then burned the fort, and having destroyed forty thousand pounds of powder, returned with his prisoners into Canada with the loss of only three men. *Stone's Sir Wm. Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 1.

¹ This fort has quite a history. In 1758, General John Stanwix, who came to America in 1756, as colonel of the 1st Battalion of the 60th Royal Americans, was sent by General Abercrombie after his defeat at Ticonderoga to build a fort

on the ruins of old Fort Williams (named after Capt. William Williams of Sir William Pepperell's regiment, who was in command of the fort for a short time) near the rise of the Mohawk river on the Oneida Carrying Place at the head of boat navigation, the site of the present city of Rome, N. Y. "It was a strong square fortification, having bomb-proof bastions, a glacis, covert way, and a well picketed ditch around the ramparts." Its position was important in a military point of view, for it commanded the portage between the Mohawk and Wood creek, and was a key to communication between the Mohawk valley and Lake Champlain. The works cost the British and Colonial government two hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred dollars, yet when the Revolution broke out the fort and its outposts were in ruins. Accordingly, in 1776, it was repaired by Colonel Dayton, who, to please his patron, Gen. Philip

well as those of the officers baggage are to be Loaded this Evening ready to push [ahead] at a moment's warning in the morning. The advance Corps to carry 6 Days provision in bread & pork to shut out any possibility of want of provision from Delays or Disappointments of the Ks ves-

Schuyler, changed its name to Fort Schuyler. In a manuscript letter, now in my possession and before me as I write, under date of "German Flats, Aug. 8th, 1776," General Schuyler writes to Col. Dayton as follows: " * * * I thank you for the honor you have done me in calling the fort by my name. As I cannot, consistent with delicacy, announce this to Congress, would it not be right for you to do it, and to General Washington?"

Although known by the Americans during the war as Fort Schuyler, yet the name did not "take;" and it has always been known in history by its original one, "Fort Stanwix." Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix) must not be confounded with the one built on the present site of Utica, N. Y., which latter has been known as "Old Fort Schuyler" to distinguish it from Fort Schuyler of Fort Stanwix fame. Fort Stanwix was destroyed by fire and a freshet in 1781, and was never rebuilt. At the time of St. Leger's siege, the fort was garrisoned by the 3d New York Continental regiment, a company of artillery, and a small body of infantry, consisting in all of six hundred men (de Lancey says 700) and commanded by that staunch patriot, Colonel Peter Gansevoort.

We cannot, however, dismiss Fort Stanwix without noticing one incident in particular, which, if for no other reason, must always make this fort memorable in our Revolutionary annals. We allude to the fact that it was on her ramparts during St. Leger's siege, that the stars and stripes were unfurled for the *first time*! In writing of this siege and of the circumstances of the flag, Colonel Stone, in

his *Life of Brant*, says: "A besieging army was before the fort, and its garrison was without a flag! But as necessity is the mother of invention, they were not long thus destitute. Stripes of white were cut from ammunition shirts, blue from a camel cloak captured from the enemy; while the red was supplied from the petticoat of a soldier's wife; and thus furnished, commenced the celebrated siege of Fort Schuyler" [Stanwix]. In the late Oriskany centennial, Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, speaking of this flag in his address of welcome, at its close eloquently said: "It is a just source of patriotic pride to those who live in this valley [i. e., the Mohawk valley] that the flag of our country (with the stars and stripes) was first displayed in the face of our enemies on the banks of the Mohawk. Here it was baptized in the blood of battle. Here it first waved in triumph over a retreating foe. When the heroic defenders of Fort Stanwix learned in that remote fortress the emblem adopted by the Continental Congress for the standards to be borne by its armies, they hastened to make one in accordance with the mandate, and to hang it out from the walls of their fortress. It was rudely made of such materials cut from the clothing of the soldiers as were fitted to show its colors and its designs. But no other standard however skillfully wrought upon silken folds could equal in interest the first flag of our country worked out by the unskillful hands of brave men amid the strife of war and under the fire of beleaguering foes. It was to rescue it from its perils that the

sels ; the officer command'g in chief finds himself under the painfull necessity of putting a short stop to the currency of Trade by ordering that the crews of the boats that come to unload on the Island may go one trip with provision to Oswego for which they will be paid. Every Brigade of provision boats, which arrived before the return of the vessals from Niagara, Capt Potts will push forward to Oswego with all Expedition.

REGTL ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Ensign Wall, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 15 P. Each officer Commanding Companys is to pay 3 Dollars, Each subaltern 1 Dollar to the Quartermaster in order to pay the men that carry'd the batteaux over the Long Sault, & the officers of the Colonels Company to pay Three Dollars extraordinary [for] the batteau that was lost at Point Abaw' in place

men of this valley left their homes and marched through the deep forest to this spot.

"It was to uphold the cause of which it was the emblem that they battled here. Time has destroyed that standard, but I hold in my hand another banner hardly less sacred in its associations with our history. It is the flag of our State which was borne by the regiment commanded by Colonel Gansevoort, not only here at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, but also when it ended by the surrender of the British army at Yorktown. The brave soldier who carried it valued it beyond all earthly possessions. He left it as a precious heirloom to his family. They have kept it with such faithful care that now after a century has rolled away its folds can be displayed in this valley to another generation who will look upon it with a devotion equal to that felt by those who followed

it on the battle fields of the Revolution.

When it is now unfurled let it receive the military honors accorded to it a hundred years ago ; and let us reverently uncover our heads in memory of the dead who watched and guarded it through the perils of ancient war."

"John F. Seymour then displayed the flag upon which the vast audience gave three rousing cheers and lifted their hats.

"All the military presented arms and the band played the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"

This flag was the standard of the Third New York regiment commanded by Col. Peter Gansevoort, who at the disbandment of the army retained it in his own possession and handed it down to his son, the late Peter Gansevoort, from whom it descended to his daughter Mrs. Abraham Lansing, of Albany, in whose hands it is now reverently preserved.

¹ Point au Baudet, situated in Lake St.

of Five paid to the Indians for finding the 5th Batteau, and for the future whatever Companys shall lose Batteaux or provisions by negligence shall pay the whole value & be liable to censure besides; as men seem to be careless about their arms & Accoutrements it is the Commanding officers orders that at Roll Call evening & morn- ing the men appear with their arms, and who- ever loses any of them shall be obliged to pay for the same.

—19th. *P. Hesse Hanau. C. Cassel.* The troop [i. e. Bugle-call] will assemble the advanced corps, & upon the beating the second troop, they will embark. Each corps will be allowed 1 boat to carry such things as will be immediately wanted, which will move with the Artillery and provisions destined for Fort Stanwix. The remainder will stay at Oswego¹ till a general clearance of that post. The whole Brigade of Canadians that brought up the Hessians to be employed in carrying provisions to Oswego after giving Eight hands to strengthen Capt Rouvilles Company. The Artillery under the conduct of Lt

Francis in the St. Lawrence, and the place where the boundary line begins that separates Upper from Lower Canada. It was, too, just the spot where a batteau might very easily be lost, since when the wind comes from the south-west, the immense body of water in the lake is impelled directly towards this point, and a surf breaks in upon the beach, as tremendous as is seen on the sea shore. When Weld visited the place in 1796, "there was," he says, "one solitary house

here which proved to be a tavern, and afforded us a well-drest supper of venison, and decent accommodation for the night." Weld had been obliged, on account of the surf and the strong south-west wind then prevailing, to tarry over at the Point until the next morning. To what circumstance Point au Baudet (Point of the Donkey) owes its name, is not stated.

¹ For the following admirable sketch of Oswego, I am indebted to Mr. B. B.

Collerton to carry 20 days Provision for their own Detachment. Three of the Rebel Prisoners now in the Provo Guard who have taken the oaths of allegiance to the King are to be employed as Batteau men to Lt. Glennie's Detachment to which will be added 10 Men of the Royal Yorkers which takes two boats from their proper line of transports.

Burt, of that city, who, though heavily burdened with professional duties, kindly found time to prepare it. Mr. Burt is well known, together with Mr. O. H. Marshall, and Mr. Wm. C. Bryant, of Buffalo, N. Y., as one who has made the early history of Lake Ontario a profound study; and this sketch from his pen, will, I believe, be highly appreciated by all historical students. Mr. Burt writes:

"The Onondaga Indians have a tradition that *Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha*, the deity that presides over fisheries and hunting grounds came down from above in his white canoe, and selected a couple of warriors from among the Onondagas, who met him at Oswego. They together passed up the Oswego river and removed all obstructions to navigation so that canoes could pass in safety.

"The first European that discovered Lake Ontario was Champlain, in 1615. In the month of October of that year he left Canada to go to a fortified village of the Iroquois, in the Onondaga county. He crossed the outlet of Lake Ontario with an armed party of ten Frenchmen and some Indian allies; and after passing many islands followed the eastern shore of the lake to a point where they landed. After leaving their canoes, they proceeded about four leagues over a sandy tract, and came to a very beautiful country. This was the town of Sandy creek and Richland in this county. Leaving the shores of the lake they went southward and crossed the outlet of Oneida lake.

"In October, 1653, Father Joseph Poncet, a Jesuit missionary, on a return from a visit to the Mohawk country went through Oswego on his way down the St. Lawrence river.

"In July, or early in August, 1654, the Jesuit Father, Simon Le Moynes, visited Oswego on his way to Onondaga, and on the 16th of August of that year discovered the salt springs at Salina.

"On the 29th day of October, 1655, Father Chanmonot and the Jesuit Dablon arrived at Ontiahanataque (Oswego), and encamped there for a day or two, on their way to Onondaga. They describe it as a large river discharging into Lake Ontario. Dablon gave a description of the place.

"In 1656, the expedition that founded the colony Genentaha, on Onondaga lake, was at Oswego. The historian of the party said: 'On the 7th July we arrived, about ten o'clock in the evening at the mouth of the river [Oswego] which flows from the Lake Genentaha [Onondaga], on the bank of which we proceeded to erect a dwelling for the night. The next day we found the currents of water so rapid that it required all our force to surmount them.'

"On a French map made by Franquelin, in 1679, Oswego is called Onontaguero. In June or July, 1679, Father Hennepin and associates came to Oswego in a brigantine, and erected a bark cabin half a league in the woods for divine service and to avoid the intrusion of the savages, who came to trade for powder, etc., and par-

— 19th. AFTER ORDERS. The several corps to proceed in 2 lines dressing. The leading boats, the officer commanding in chief & the staff to Lead; the lines to be followed by the Artillery, Kings Regt, Capt Ruvill's Company, & 2 Merchts boats & 34th Regt.

ticularly *brandy*. M. De Chesnau wrote a letter to Count Frontenac, dated July 28, 1682, and called Oswego 'Techo-naguen'; and on July 28, 1696, Count Frontenac arrived at Oswego on his expedition against the Onondagas.

"The English regarded Oswego as a place of importance, and in 1722 established a trading house there, and in 1727, under colonial Governor Burnet, it was strengthened and fortified and named 'Fort Oswego'; and on some maps it was called 'Fort Pepperell,' and was the first fort constructed there.

"John Bartram on a trip from Philadelphia to Canada arrived in Oswego on the 25th day of July, 1743, and described the place as follows: 'On the point formed by the entrance of the river [into Lake Ontario] stands a fort or trading castle; it is a strong stone house encompassed with a stone wall near twenty feet high, and 120 paces round, built of large square stones curious for their softness. I cut my name in it with my knife. The town consists of about seventy log houses, of which one-half are in a row near the river, the other half opposite them. On the other side of a fair were two streets, divided by a row of posts in the midst where each Indian has his house to lay his goods, and where any of the traders may traffic with him.'

"In 1755 Gen. Shirley came to Oswego with the intention of attacking Fort Niagara, then in the possession of the French, but there being a delay in getting supplies and a difficulty in obtaining transports, the expedition was abandoned for that year. Lieut. Col. Mercer was left with about

700 men and during that fall and ensuing winter and spring constructed two new forts: 'Fort Ontario' on the east and 'Oswego new fort' or 'Fort George' on the west side of the river.

"All of these forts were captured by Montcalm, August 14, 1756 and destroyed, and Oswego abandoned by the French. Soon thereafter the English again occupied the place and rebuilt Fort Ontario on nearly the site of the fort which still bears that name, and was the only one rebuilt.

"The first vessel constructed by the English on Lake Ontario, was at Oswego in 1755. At that time the French called Oswego 'Chouaguen.'

"Gen. Bradstreet accompanied by 3,000 men remained in Oswego for a short time, in August, 1758, on his way to capture Fort Frontenac.

"On the 27th day of June, 1759, Gen. Prideaux and Sir William Johnson with an army, arrived at Oswego, on the way to capture Fort Niagara; were engaged in procuring provisions on the 28th, 29th and 30th, and in making preparations for the march; left Oswego, July 1st; arrived before Niagara on the 8th, and August 8th invested and took the fort; after which the army in two vessels and accompanied by Sir William Johnson (Prideaux having, meanwhile, been killed at Niagara), returned to Oswego on Tuesday the 7th of August. Sir William remained here several days engaged in rebuilding Fort Ontario in a pentagon form, and passing his leisure moments in shooting and fishing. In your own *Life of Sir William Johnson*, you give in the appendix to Vol. II, the journal of the

Signals to be observ'd by the Detach'mt; the Ensign hoisted a mid ships and one musket a Signal for all boats to put off. The Ensign hoisted in the bow and one musket a signal for all boats to put ashore. A Signal to be made by any boat in Distress, three successive muskets; a signal for [*illegible*] any thing white in the bow¹.

Baronet kept by him during his stay at this time at Oswego, which is full of interest. Mrs. Grant, also, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*, speaks very pleasantly of the winter of 1759-60, which she spent at Fort Ontario.

"July or August, 1760, General (afterwards Lord) Amherst left Oswego, with 10,000 men for Canada, to destroy the French dominion there; and on the 9th of July of the same year, Col. Woodhull, with a collection of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut and New Jersey and the 44th Highlanders, arrived at Oswego and encamped near Fort Ontario on the 16th of July. His journal closes with the army at Oswego, July 20th.

"On Tuesday, the 21st of July, 1761 (Sunday), Sir William Johnson arrived on his way to Detroit, at Oswego, and on the 21st held a conference with the Onondaga natives, at which Maj. Duncan, Capt. Gray and several officers of the 55th and Gen. Gage's regiments, Lieut. Guy Johnson acting as secretary, with interpreters and upwards of forty sachems and warriors were present. Sir William opened the meeting by welcoming them to Oswego. For the particulars of this conference see your *Life of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 435-438.

"July 23 to 31, 1766, there was an Indian council at Oswego, at which Pontiac and other chiefs and Sir William Johnson were present.

"July 27th and 28th, 1777, the expedition under Gen. St. Leger left Oswego

and in August fought at the battle of Oriskany.

"Oswego although not a battle ground during the Revolution, was garrisoned by a strong British force, and was a place of general rendezvous for the English and their allies, Brant, Johnson and others. The place continued in the possession of the English until it was surrendered to the United States, under Jay's treaty, July 15, 1796, and on that day the first American flag was displayed at the fort. Soon thereafter settlers arrived; the first, Neil McMullen, a merchant from Kingston, who had furnished supplies to the fort prior to its surrender. He brought a frame and put up a house, which is supposed to have been the first frame house built.

"Oswego was captured by the English May 6, 1814.

The name Oswego is derived from 'Swa-geh' of the Onondaga dialect, signifying 'Flowing out' or the 'discharging place' of the numerous lakes of Central New York.

"At the present time, Oswego is a thriving city of about 23,000 inhabitants, possessing excellent advantages for commerce on the lake and canal, also railroad facilities; has a fine water power, large manufactories; beautifully situated, healthy and in other respects a desirable place for business as well as residence."

¹ Not being able fully to make out this word in the MS., I have said, in the text, "*illegible*." Still, it looks to me like

All signals to be Repeat'd by commanding officers of corps.

The Detachment of Royal Artillery under the command of Lieut. Glennie, the R. R. N. Yorkers, the Companies of Chasseurs¹ & officers & Rangers² of the Indian Department & Canadians Destined for the transport of provisions are to hold themselves in Readiness to embark to morrow Morning at 4 o'clock, for which purpose the officers commandn'g the different Corps are to see that their Boats are loaded this evening; all the ovens to be Employ'd this evening in Bakeing for the Hessians. Three Canadians out of each of the 7 boats to be Employ'd as Steersmen to the Royal Yorkers & Hessians, for which in equal Number agreeable to the proportion [of] each Corps, Receipts must be given for the Provision boats. The whole to proceed in the Following order. First, The Command'g officer with such of the staff & Indian Department as are on the Ground.

¹ "the charity," i. e., the sloop *Charity*. Hence (as we know that this sloop with some guns accompanied the boats for protection) it probably meant that when a great danger arose, the "*Charity*" would be signaled to advance, as quickly as possible, and aid the convoy.

² Col. Claus, however, in his letter to Secretary Knox, above referred to, speaks of only *one* company of Chasseurs, and that arrived a day or two before the 19th of July.

² "The origin of Rangers, since the late Sir Wm. Johnson's time, was to intermix them with the Indians, when on service, and be commanded by the Indian officers. Formerly none but those acquainted with the Indians and their language were admitted, and received half a crown pay; now that distinction, though essentially necessary, is no more made, which makes his commission become an additional useless expense, though very beneficial to him." *Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, 16th Oct., 1777.*

OSWEGO FALLS¹

—1777 JULY 31st. P. York. The Detachment of the Royal artillery under the command of Lieut. Glenne, the R. R. of N. Y. of Capt. Buvills [Rouville]² company of Canadians to take in their loading immediat'ly; each captains boat in the royal Yorkers to carry 4 barrels, 10 lieut boats 5 each, lieutenant Anderson J. Wilkerson to carry 4 Barrels each, the privates' boats to carry 6 each, and to hold themselves in readiness

¹ Oswego Falls are about twelve miles south-east from Oswego on the Oswego river. In early times, the river was called "Onondaga," and the falls after the name of the river. The fall proper is about twelve feet with rapids for about a mile below, which rendered it necessary to have a carrying place on the east side of the river of about a mile, the termini being called the upper and lower landings. There is a fall of about seventy feet from the head of Oswego Falls to Oswego, and it took five days to go from Oswego to Fort Bull (at the carrying place at Fort Stanwix) and only three and a-half days to come from Fort Bull to Oswego. This arose from having to contend with the currents in the river. In 1759, a fort was constructed near the eastern end of the falls; thus, between Oswego and Fort Stanwix, there were three forts, viz.: the fort at Oswego Falls, Fort Brewerton at the outlet of Oneida Lake, and Fort Bull at the carrying place between the Mohawk river and Wood creek. About 1792, settlements were made at the upper and lower landings of the carrying place and also at the westerly end of the falls. It has always been a good place for catching eels in weirs. B. B. Burt.

The reader should be informed that

the hiatus which here occurs in the Orderly Book between the 19th and the 31st of July is due to the fact that at that time the troops of St. Leger and Sir John Johnson were passing from Buck's (Carleton) Island to Oswego Falls in boats.

² Captain Rouville, together with Lieutenants Lundy and Glenie mentioned previously in the text, did efficient service in the events which subsequently took place. Col. St. Leger, in his "Account of Occurrences at Fort Stanwix," published in the Appendix to Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*, writes of these officers as follows: "The 4th and 5th of August, were employed in making arrangements for opening Wood creek (which the enemy, with the indefatigable labor of one hundred and fifty men, for fourteen days, had most effectually choked up) and the making a temporary road from Pine Ridges upon Fish creek, sixteen miles from the fort, for a present supply of provision and the transport of our artillery. The first was effected by the diligence and zeal of Capt. Bouville [Rouville] * * while Lieutenant Lundy, acting as assistant quartermaster, had rendered the road in the worst of weather, sufficiently practicable to pass the whole artillery and stores, with seven

to embark at 2 o'clock this afternoon to proceed in the Following order.¹

Royal artillery. Six Companys of the Kings R. R. of N. Y. Capt Rouvill's Company of Canadians, Lieut Col's Company. The officers commanding companys not to allow their boats to fall back or put ashore without orders or a signal for that purpose².

days provision, in two days. * * * It was found that our cannon had not the least effect upon the sod-work of the Fort [Stanwix], and that our royals [cuhorns] had only the power of teasing, as a six-inch plank was a sufficient security for their powder magazine, as we learned from deserters. At this time, Lieutenant Glenie of the artillery, whom I appointed to act as assistant engineer, proposed a conversion of the royals (if I may use the expression) into howitzers. The ingenuity and feasibility of this measure striking me very strongly, the business was set about immediately and soon executed, when it was found that nothing prevented their operating with the desired effect but the distance, their chambers

being too small to hold a sufficiency of powder."

¹ There is a rapid in Oswego and within one mile of the lake, and several others between that city and Oswego Falls; while, as mentioned in the last note but one, there was a carrying place around the falls of at least a mile. It will thus readily be seen how three days could have been spent by St. Leger in getting around the falls and ready for a start for Fort Stanwix on the 31st of July, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

² On the inside of the cover of the Orderly Book is the following entry: "Nicholas Hillyer Sergt enters the Col's Company 10th of April, 1777, then cannoned at Lachine."

END OF THE ORDERLY BOOK.

In order that this interesting document may be brought down to the latest date attainable, I append here, in the text, as a fitting ending, the last official paper of this expedition on the English side, as far as known. It was, as will be seen, written by St. Leger but a few hours previous to his appearance before the walls of Fort Stanwix; his advance, meanwhile, having arrived under the walls of that fort on the evening of the day on which the letter was written. The letter is addressed to Lieutenant Bird of the 8th Regiment, who had, on the 31st of July, been sent by St. Leger in advance with some sixty of his men and a few Indians.

GENERAL ST. LEGER TO LIEUTENANT BIRD.

"Nine Mile Point, August 2d, 1777.

SIR: I this instant received your letter, containing the account of your operations since you were detached, which I with great pleasure tell you have been sensible and spirited; your resolution of investing Fort Stanwix is perfectly right; and to enable you to do it with greater effect, I have detached Joseph [Thayendanegea] and his corps of Indians to re-inforce you. You will observe that I will have nothing but an investiture made;

and in case the enemy, observing the discretion and judgment with which it is made, should offer to capitulate, you are to tell them that you are sure I am well disposed to listen to them ; this is not to take any honor out of a young soldier's hands, but by the presence of the troops to prevent the barbarity and carnage which will ever obtain where Indians make so superior a part of a detachment ; I shall move from hence at eleven o'clock, and be early in the afternoon at the entrance of the creek [Wood creek].

I am, Sir, your most obt. and humble Ser't

BARRY ST. LEGER.

*Lieut. Bird, 8th Reg't."*¹

¹ Before closing this subject, it may be well, especially as *Willet's Narrative*, as stated in the Introduction, has become very rare and difficult to procure, to give the result of the expedition of St. Leger against Fort Stanwix in Col. Willett's own words. "Shortly after this [i. e., the capture of Capt. Butler,] the news of the approach of General Arnold, to relieve the fort, having reached the enemy, the Indians being already extremely disaffected, in consequence of the ill success of the siege, and Colonel St. Leger, finding that the mulish obstinacy, as he termed it in a letter written to General Burgoyne, of the garrison, could not readily be overcome, on the 22d of August, the siege was suddenly abandoned after it had been carried on twenty days. Throughout the whole of the siege, Colonel St. Leger, certainly, made every effort in his power to render it successful. Having sent after Colonel Willett's departure, to Colonel Gansevoort a written summons to surrender, which he found as unavailing as his message to Major Ancrum, he commenced approaching by sap, and had

formed two parallels, the second of which brought him near the edge of the glaciis, but the fire of the musketry from the covert way, rendered his further progress very difficult ; besides, his ordinance was not sufficiently heavy to make any impression from the battery which he had erected. The only way in which he could annoy the garrison, was with his shells, and this was so trifling, as to afford him but a poor prospect of success. It appears, that he made large calculations upon intimidating the garrison with threats ; and, perhaps, his expectations were the more sanguine, as Ticonderoga had been but a little time before abandoned, upon the approach of Gen. Burgoyne.

The unexpected and hasty retreat of Col. St. Leger, and his host of Indians, accompanied by Sir John Johnson, whose influence among the settlers along the Mohawk river, it was supposed, would procure considerable reinforcements, defeated all the calculations that had been made in the event of the success of St. Leger, which was hardly

doubted. Great indeed was the disappointment and mortification, when, instead of Colonel St. Leger taking the fort, and, by this means obtaining possession of the Mohawk country, as well as effecting a juncture with General Burgoyne, he was obliged to retreat, wholly baffled in all his designs." Indeed, so great was the panic of the besiegers and such the precipitancy of their flight, that St. Leger left his bombardier asleep in the bomb-battery. They also left their tents standing, their provisions, artillery ammunition, their entire camp-equipage and large quantities of other articles enhancing the value of the booty. In very truth, the king's troops had themselves become that very "Rabble" by which term St. Leger in his orders, had so pompously designated the Americans!

Upon the raising of the siege of Fort Schuyler, or Fort Stanwix, as the public always preferred calling it, St. Leger hastened with his scattered forces back to Oswego, and thence to Montreal. From that post he proceeded to Lake Champlain, passing up the same to Ticonderoga for the purpose of joining the army of Burgoyne. While neither himself nor Sir John carried this intention out, some of their officers did, as has been seen in a preceding note. It is, however, very certain that St. Leger fully intended to join Burgoyne. Thus Gen. Burgoyne, in a secret and confidential letter to Gen. Riedesel under date of Sept. 10, 1777, writes as follows: " * * I have, my dear general, to intrust a little matter to your care during your stay at Fort Edward. I desire to have two batteaux, with their oars, buried as quietly as possible. It would also, be well to shovel earth upon them; and to give them still more the appearance of graves, a cross might be placed upon each hillock. All this must be done in the night, and only by trustworthy soldiers. The teamsters cannot be relied on. The use for which these batteaux are intended, is to help Lieut. Col. St. Leger in crossing the river, in case of circumstances forcing him to

march without his ships. This officer has been forced by the bad conduct of the Indians, to retreat on the road to Oswego. He has however, accomplished this without loss, and is now on his march to the army. I have sent him orders as to the necessary measures of precaution he is to take upon arriving on the island at the lower end of Lake George. If he finds that the enemy are not in the vicinity of the road leading to the army, and he can keep the march of twenty-four men a secret, he is to cross the river near Fort Edward, at the same time notifying me in advance of his movement, that I may be able to facilitate it from my side. I have told him where he will find the batteaux, viz. *inside of Fort Edward*. I had given orders to Brigadier General Powell to have your reserve cross at the same time with Colonel St. Leger, and to leave those only behind that belong to the regiment of Prince Frederick."

The sequel to this burying of the batteaux is thus told by Dr. Gordon. In writing in regard to the cutting off of Burgoyne by Gen. Stark's capture of Fort Edward, he says: "The Americans who had been ordered there [Fort Edward] made a discovery, which they greatly improved. Below the fort, close in with the river, they found the appearance of a grave, with an inscription on a board: '*Here lies the body of Lieutenant ———.*'" They were at a loss what it should mean. On searching, they discovered three batteaux [Riedesel with his usual prudence, had, it seemed, buried *three* instead of two] instead of a body. These the enemy had concealed. Having none of their own, they, by the help of them sent scouting parties across the river [the Hudson] which by falling into a track a mile and a-half beyond, discouraged the enemy's parties from attempting an escape that way." Thus, Burgoyne's and Riedesel's efforts only redounded to the aid of their enemies! It was undoubtedly to this action of Riedesel in burying the batteaux that Burgoyne refers to in his

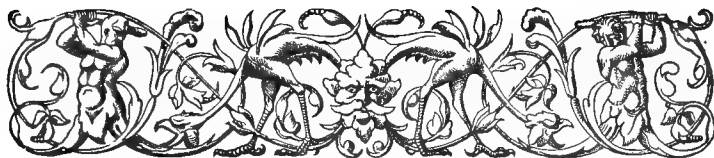
"*State of the Expedition*," when, in speaking of the reason why, after the action of the 19th of Sept., at Freeman's farm, he did not immediately retreat, he says: "The time also entitled me to expect Lieut. Col. St. Leger's corps would be arrived at Ticonderoga; and *secret* means had been long concerted to enable him to make an effort to join me with probability of success."

The miscarriage of St. Leger's expedition, as it has been well epitomised by S. N. Dexter North, was due to the miscalculation of the home government which planned it. The force under his command was a picked one, but altogether too small. See *Letter from Col. Claus to Sec'y Knox, N. Y. Col. Doc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 719. "There were three good reasons," continues Mr. North, "to excuse and explain this blunder. First, St. Leger's advance was through an unprotected country and against undisciplined forces; second, it was expected, upon the

positive assertion of Sir John Johnson, that at every step of his progress his army would be swelled by a rising tide of Mohawk valley loyalists, until it should reach Albany an irresistible force, sweeping all before it and cutting off the last retreat of the army which held the sources of the Hudson against Burgoyne; third, the alliance of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations was relied upon as insuring a sufficient augmentation of forces and a terribly effective coöperation." Each of these three expectations failed in turn, and the brilliant plan miserably miscarried. In short, as Sir Henry Clinton pithily remarks of the expedition of St. Leger: "If Burgoyne meant to have established himself in Albany, and was sure he could be subsisted there, perhaps he had better have made this [i. e., St. Leger's Expedition] his principal attack; this failed from inadequacy of numbers and want of common calibre."¹

¹ Sir Henry Clinton's MS. notes to Stedman's "*History of the American War*," in the Library of the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I.

END.



APPENDIX.

NO. I.

REV. MARINUS WILLETT.

THE REV. MARINUS WILLETT was born in October, 1826, and died on the 23d of February, 1881. His father was a physician in New York city. In his younger days, Mr. Willett shipped before the mast for a trip to China, and became a great favorite with all on board. Returning to New York, he was made fourth officer of the ill-fated steamship *Arctic*, commanded by Capt. Luce, and only left her as she started on her last voyage in which she was lost. Shortly after, he received the appointment of third officer in the packet-ship *Asburton*; but his mother dying about this time, he gave up the sea as a vocation, choosing in its place the profession of the ministry. He studied first at Columbia College; then at the University of Pennsylvania; and finally graduated at Williams. He prepared for the ministry at the Union Theological Seminary in New York city; and after his ordination became pastor in succession of several Presbyterian churches, among them the one at Black Rock, Conn., and another at Washington Heights, N. Y. About ten years before his death, he was appointed chaplain of Ward's, Hart's and Randall's Islands, by Commissioner Bowen. He was devoted to his work and found particular happiness in administering spirit-

ual comfort to poor patients. He left, as a rich heritage to his children, an official record not often equalled for success and devotion to the suffering. Indeed, it was this very self-sacrificing spirit, which was the primary cause of his death. Notwithstanding he had been in ill health for some nine months previous to his decease, and had been urged not to attempt to perform his labors as chaplain, at least until the weather became milder and more settled, he persisted, in the face of wind and storm, in crossing the East River in an open boat nearly every day in the week, to visit the Islands, and always on Sundays to hold service. Indeed, the officials and physicians of the different institutions on the three Islands, speak of Mr. Willett in terms of unqualified praise, as a Christian minister who seemed to live only to better his fellow-men. Mr. Willett was, for many years, a member, and later, the secretary, of the society of the Cincinnati, of which his grandfather (after whom he was named) was one of the original members. He was also a member of the St. Nicholas society. He left a widow, a daughter, and two sons, one of whom, at the time of his father's death, was a purser of a ship then cruising in the Indian Ocean. He was buried on the 26th of February, from the South Dutch church, corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-First street, New York, Dr. Howard Crosby conducting the services which were unusually impressive.

NO. II.

GEN. MARINUS WILLETT.

MARINUS WILLETT, the author of *Willett's Narrative*, was born at Jamaica, Long Island, July 31st, (O. S.), 1740. He was the youngest of six sons of Edward Willett, a Queen's county farmer, and of excellent family — a younger branch, indeed, of that of Judge Thomas Jones, so well known as the author of the *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, recently edited by Edward F. de Lancey, and published under the auspices of the N. Y. His. Soc. Owing to his family becoming much reduced in its circumstances, young Willett came to New York city and served for a time as a constable, which, in those days, was a position fully as dignified as that of sheriff is now. He early became imbued with a military spirit, and joined the army under Abercrombie as a lieutenant in Col. de Lancey's regiment in 1758. He was in the disastrous battle at Ticonderoga, and accompanied Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac. Exposure in the wilderness injured his health, and he was laid up by sickness at Fort Stanwix until the end of the campaign. Willett espoused the cause of the colonies when the troubles with the mother country first began. When the British troops in the New York garrison were ordered to Boston after the fight at Lexington, they attempted, in addition to their own, to carry off a large quantity of spare arms. Willett, learning of this, resolved to prevent it; and, though opposed by the mayor and other Tories, he captured the baggage-wagons containing them and brought them back to the city. These arms were afterward used by the first regiment raised by the state of New York. For this success-

ful attempt to baffle the British, he drew down on him the bitter hatred of all who were opposed to colonial independence ; and hence it is a matter of no surprise when, in speaking of him in his Tory *History of New York*, Judge Jones says " he became a principal leader in all mobs in New York prior to the actual commencement of the rebellion." He was appointed second captain of a company in Col. Mc Dougall's regiment and accompanied Montgomery in his Northern expedition against Quebec. He was placed in command of St. John's, and held that post until January, 1776. In the same year, he was appointed lieutenant colonel; and, at the opening of the campaign of 1777, was placed in command of Fort Constitution on the Hudson. In May of this year, he was ordered to Fort Stanwix, where he performed signal service, as mentioned in the Introduction ; and for which he was voted a sword by congress. This vote of congress, unlike the playful amusement in which that body has, until lately, seemed inclined to indulge, viz : of voting monuments to Herkimer, Steuben, Pulaski, and others, and allowing its action to end in a vote merely, was, we are glad to state, carried out ; and the sword was sent direct to Col. Willett by John Hancock. This sword, which is owned by the widow of the late Rev. Mr. Willett, has for several months past been in the careful keeping of a jeweller on William street near the New York Custom House. After the retreat of St. Leger and Johnson, Willett was left in command of Fort Stanwix, and remained there until the summer of 1778, when he joined the army under Washington, arriving in time to participate in the battle of Monmouth. He accompanied Sullivan in his campaign against the Senecas in 1779, and was actively engaged in the Mohawk valley in 1780, 1781 and

1782. In 1783, he was for a little time in command of the northern portion of New York state, having his head-quarters at Albany. A MS. letter, now before me, from Willett to Washington, dated "Albany, 30th Jan., 1783," and signed "M. Willett, Col. Commanding," bears on its back the following endorsement also in his handwriting.

"Permit the bearer Thomas Clump (express rider) to pass to head-quarters at New Burgh. Should any accident happen to his horse or himself, all magistrates and other friends are humbly requested to afford him such assistance as he may stand in need of, in order that his dispatches may not be delayed. And any necessary expenses which may accrue on this account, I promise to settle.

M. WILLETT,
Col. Commanding."

In 1792, he was sent by Washington to treat with the Creek Indians at the south; and the same year he was appointed a brigadier general in the army intended to act against the north-western tribes. This appointment, however, he declined, as he was conscientiously opposed to the expedition. He was for some time sheriff of New York city, and was elected its mayor in 1807. He was also chosen one of the electors of president and vice-president in 1824, and was made president of the Electoral College. He died in New York city at "Cedar Grove" (as his residence in Broome street was called), full of years and honors, Sunday evening, Aug. 23d, 1830, the anniversary of his battle with Major Ross and Walter Butler, in the 91st year of his age. The funeral of Col. Willett took place on Tuesday, the 24th of August. The coffin was conveyed into the garden in the rear of his dwelling, under an

arbor, which in life had been his favorite resort; a gate was thrown open in the rear, so that the number of visitors who were anxious to view his remains might pass through without confusion. It was estimated that not less than ten thousand persons availed themselves of the opportunity. The procession formed at his residence, the pall-bearers being Col. Troup, Col. Fish, Col. Trumbull, Col. A. Ogden, Major General Morton, Major Fairlie, J. Pintard, Esq., and Mr. Dominick. The bier was attended by the members of the Cincinnati society, the members of the court of errors, the members of the common council, the judges of the different courts, together with an immense concourse of citizens in carriages and on foot, accompanied by a troop of horse and a corps of New York state artillery. The procession moved to Trinity church; and the remains, after services conducted by Rev. Dr. De Witt, were deposited in Trinity church-yard. During the afternoon ninety minute-guns were fired on the battery, and volleys of musquetry over the grave. I am informed by an old and highly esteemed resident of New York, who at that time lived near Col. Willett in Broome street, that the funeral procession, carriages included, extended nearly the entire distance from Broome street to Trinity church. Indeed, in view of these public and private manifestations of grief which, on his decease, so spontaneously gushed forth, it is a little surprising that the accomplished and genial editor of *Jones's History of New York*, in alluding to Willett's death, could find nothing more to say about him than that "his latter life, after the war was a very respectable one." The following notice appeared in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, at that time edited by my father, Col. William L. Stone, who was Col. Willett's warm friend. "The

coffin of Col. Willett was made of pieces of wood, collected by himself, many of them from different revolutionary battle fields. The corpse, in compliance with the written request of the deceased, was habited in a complete suit of citizen's apparel, including an old fashioned three-cornered hat, which had been presented for that purpose." In the personal character of Col. Willett, as has been justly remarked, "there were traits of chivalry and daring, so fearless and ardent, that in another age, he would have commanded the deepest and greatest admiration." Virtue, philanthropy and patriotism guided every step, and adorned every act of his eventful and public life; while in his private life he was distinguished for integrity, frankness and decision of character. Perhaps, however, the highest compliment that can be paid Col. Willett is, that in Judge Jones's *History of New York*, in which that gentleman assails with violence nearly all the actors in the events he describes, the worst he can say of him, after admitting that he was possessed of courage, is the remark quoted above regarding his being a principal leader of revolutionary mobs!

A son of Col. Willett is yet (1882) living near me on Jersey City Heights, N. J. He is still remarkably hale and hearty and in the full enjoyment of his physical and mental powers. He, it was, who, as a labor of filial piety, edited and published his father's *Narrative*. In a recent conversation with him he said that the engraving which forms the frontispiece of that work is a most miserable likeness of his father, in proof of which he showed me an exquisite sketch (in crayon) of the colonel, which certainly differs greatly from the engraving in the *Narrative*. Mr. Willett also informed me that until lately (when they were stolen from him) he had in his possession some six original

autograph letters from Washington to his father, two of which were couched in terms of warm commendation to Col. Willett for his successful sortie from Fort Stanwix. Mr. Willett has long been favorably known as the author of works of a religious cast, he having written, among other books, *The Life of Sumnerfield*, *The Life of the Messiah*, *The Restitution of all Things*, etc. To see and converse, in the year of our Lord, 1882, with the son of an Indian fighter of the old French war, and a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, not only is a very great privilege, but brings the early colonial days vividly before the mind, making them indeed seem as of yesterday.¹

¹ In this connection one cannot but recall another similar instance of a man who died but recently (1880). His name was Ransom Cook, of Saratoga Springs, whose father-in-law was Robert Ayers, the person who conveyed to Jane McCrea the message of her lover David Jones. Mr. Cook, who had become greatly distinguished by his many mechanical and scientific inventions, was, in many respects, a remarkable man, fully alive not only to the present, but to the past; and when in the year of our Lord, 1880, we talked with him whose wife was the daughter of one who knew Jane McCrea intimately, past events no longer seemed dim and shadowy but actual realities!

NO. III.

ORISKANY FROM A BRITISH STANDPOINT.

Before going to press, I submitted my manuscript to a friend for whose judgment I have a profound respect, with the request that he would make any suggestions which might occur to him. He promptly responded by giving me several valuable hints, and among others the following: "In your Introduction you should give the *other side of the story*, as well as Willett's account of how he came by the Orderly Book. Johnson was with his regiment *fighting when the sortie was made*. Willett's story was not true. However, print it as you propose, but *also* print a part of the note of the editor of Jones's History of New York during the Revolution, which is No. LXIII. p. 701, Vol. I. Jones's text shows that Sir John suggested or rather proposed the plan to St. Leger, the result of which was the defeat of Oriskany. This fact you might also mention."

Before asking my friend's opinion, I had already endeavored (and I think successfully, see note on page 13) to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between Willett's and Jones's accounts, by showing how it might easily have happened that Sir John was not only in the attack on Herkimer, but also in the camp at the time of Willett's sortie. Nevertheless, in justice to the other side, I herewith give the note of the editor in Jones's History, above referred to, first preceding it with Jones's account of the action at Oriskany in his text.

Extract from Jones's History, p. 216, Vol. I.

"Hercheimer got intelligence of the situation of the garrison

[at Fort Stanwix] and determined to raise the siege if possible, if not, at least to throw in reinforcements, with large supplies of every kind of provisions and stores. To effect this, he collected a body of about 1,000 militia, in which every person of note in the country, who were in the interest of congress, served either as officers or volunteers. When everything was in readiness, Hercheimer marched for the relief of the fort, having under his escort about 400 wagons loaded with stores and provisions of every kind. St. Leger had soon information of these proceedings; Sir John Johnson proposed meeting them in the woods, lying in ambush and taking them by surprise. This being agreed to by St. Leger, Sir John proceeded with a part of his own corps, a few Canadians, and the Indians, the distance of a few miles, and waited the coming of the enemy. Spies were sent out, who soon returned with an account of their approach, their distance, and their route. An ambush was laid, and so artfully concealed, that the first intimation the rebels had of an enemy being at hand, was a heavy fire in their rear, in their front, and upon both flanks. Numbers fell. A battle ensued in the Indian method of fighting. The rebels behaved with resolution, but were totally defeated. Several of the Indians were killed, and among them some of their Sachems. The other part of the detachment suffered little. In the action General Hercheimer and almost every leading man in the rebel interest in the county of Tryon, were killed. Not a man got into the fort, and the wagons, provisions, and stores were all either taken or destroyed."

Extract from the editor's note to the above note, LXIII, Vol I.

"St. Leger's corps passed through the Oneida Lake on the

31st of July, 1777 ; his van appeared before Fort Stanwix on the 2d of August, and the siege began on the 3d. * * *

“ Nicholas Herkimer, or Herckheimer, as the name was originally spelled, was appointed brigadier of the Tryon county militia, when it was separated from that of Albany county, and formed into a brigade by itself, by the provincial convention, Sept. 5th, 1776, John Frey at same time being appointed his brigade major. An official letter of the provincial convention to the New York delegates in congress, dated Aug. 14th, 1777, written by Robert R. Livingston, says : ‘ We have 700 militia out in Tryon county, and the governor has also ordered 200 men to Scoary [Schoharie] where the Whigs are besieged by Tories and Indians.’ The committee of Tryon county, on the 17th of July, unto the committee of safety, at Kingston. ‘ Fort Schuyler² fortifications are not yet finished, and the garrison consists of but 300 able men. General Schuyler ordered 200 men of our militia for a reinforcement, but with all trouble possible, and repeated orders, no more but about 80 men could be brought there.’ In the same letter they say that the militia were in such a discouraged state that, the weak hearted (which by this time being the greatest number) are fully resolved and declare openly, upon actual invasion of the enemy, to render themselves up to their protection, if the county be not in time succored with troops, and that from neglect of such succors more than half of our inhabitants are resolved not to lift up arms in defence of this country.’

“ Col. Peter Gansevoort, with the 3d New York Continentals, took command in April, 1777, and began the erection of the

² Fort Stanwix just after it was erected was called “ Fort Schuyler ” for a short time. The real Fort Schuyler (old Fort Schuyler) was on the site of the present city of Utica. See preceding note to Fort Stanwix.

fort. On the 1st of August, he received a reinforcement of about 200 men, with several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition, the tardy result of Schuyler's orders, which increased his force to about 700 men.

"Herkimer on the 17th of July, had issued a proclamation calling out all the Tryon county militia from the ages of 16 to 60, but only succeeded in getting about 700 by the 5th of August, when he encamped at the confluence of the Oriskany creek with the Mohawk. He sent that night a messenger to Gansevoort asking him to make a sortie when he should appear, and to notify the arrival of his messenger by three guns in succession.

"His officers and men taunting him with cowardice for delaying to move, the next day he ordered them to march before the signal was heard; the result was the defeat described by the author Helmer, the messenger arrived at the fort at 1 P. M., at 2 Gansevoort sent out a sortie of 206 men under Marinus Willett, who ransacked and plundered the slightly guarded camp of Johnson, who was engaged in the battle about a mile from the fort, and there learning the defeat of Herkimer, retreated back to the fort with their plunder, which, in the words of Helmer, 'at a reasonable computation amounted at least to one thousand pounds,' 'not one man being killed or wounded.'

"Herkimer, desperately wounded in the leg, bore himself nobly in the action, was afterward removed to his own home in the town of Danube on the Mohawk, and died there after an amputation, on the 16th of August, 1777, and is buried in the family graveyard near the house.

"The remains of Herkimer's command retreated to old Fort Schuyler (now Utica), carrying their wounded, but without

burying their dead, and made no further attempt at relieving the fort. Except the rear they fought bravely. 'We will not take upon us to tell of the behaviour of the rear. So far we know they took to flight the first firing,' say the committee of German Flatts in a letter, informing the Albany committee of the battle and asking succor.

" 'Gentlemen,' their letter concludes, 'we pray you will send us succor. By the death of most part of our committee members, the field officers in general being wounded, every thing is out of order, the people entirely dispirited; our county at Esopus unrepresented; that we cannot hope to stand it any longer without your aid; we will not mention the shocking aspect our fields do show. Faithful to our country, we remain, your sorrowful brethren, the few members of this committee,

"PETER J. DAGGART,
" *Chairman.* "

NO IV.

SIR DARBY MONAGHAN.

The Duke of Rutland^{*} when lord lieutenant of Ireland frequently indulged himself in incognito rambles, with a few boon companions, through the meaner parts of Dublin, in the course of which he occasionally met with strange adventures.

One evening, his Grace, Col. St. Leger, and one or two others, having entered into a public house in the Liberty, they found the landlord (who had served under St. Leger in America) to be so comical a blade, that they invited him to sit down to supper with them. Darby Monaghan, who knew his Grace by sight, took good care that the entertainment should be such as to give every satisfaction to his guests, and he contrived so to season it with an abundant flow of native wit and drollery, that they were quite delighted with him. His wine and whiskey punch were so good that by two in the morning they were all quite jolly, and ready to sally out into the street, in quest of adventures. This however, was prevented by the politic Darby, who contrived, by the humor of his songs, and the waggery of his jests, to fascinate them to the spot, until one after another, they fell drunk under the table.

During their libations, and after Darby had said several good things in succession, the Duke in a fit of good humor, and by way of a joke, turned round to him, and said, "by Jove! landlord, you are a glorious fellow, and an honor to your country. What can I do for you my boy? [Hiccup.] I'll

^{*} Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland, was the eldest son of the General, Marquis of Granby. He succeeded his grandfather, the third Duke, in 1779. He was very popular, and was celebrated for his kind heart and his interest in literary men. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, February 17, 1784, and continued in office until his death in 1787.—Ed.

knight you my lad? so—[hiccup again]—down upon your marrow bones this instant!”—“Your Grace’s high commands shall be obeyed,” said Darby kneeling. The Duke drew his sword, and although Colonel St. Leger endeavored to prevent his carrying the joke too far, he struck him over the shoulder, and uttered the ominous words, “Rise up Sir Darby Monaghan!” Darby, having humbly thanked his Grace, and sworn fealty to the King of England in a bumper, an immense bowl of punch was ordered in; this was filled and refilled, until at length the whole party became blind-drunk, as before stated.

The weather being warm, and the great quantity of punch which they had drunk, prevented the toppers from feeling any inconvenience from the hardness of their couch, and they slept as soundly as they would have done on a down bed, either at the Castle or the lodge. Darby, who, from long seasoning, was soon enabled to overcome the effects of the whiskey, rose betimes, and, having bustled about, soon prepared a comfortable breakfast of tea, coffee and chocolate, for the sleeping partners of his debauch.

When all was ready, not liking to rouse them by shaking or otherwise, he stepped into the room upon tiptoe and gently opened the window shutters. The sun shining in full upon them, they soon awoke from their slumbers, wondering where they were. The landlord, who was listening at the door, speedily put an end to their suspense, by thrusting in his black head, and nodding to his Grace, assuring him, “that they were safe and sound, and not a bone broke, in Darby Monaghan’s own comfortable and fashionable *hotel*; also, that if his Honor’s Grace and the other gentlemen would just shake themselves a

bit, and sluish their faces with a little nice cold spring water, they might fall to without any more delay, for there was a breakfast fit for a laird laid out for them in the next room."

This intelligence was received with much pleasure by the party, who, having put themselves in decent trim, adjourned to the breakfast room, where they found everything of the best laid out in homely style; but what pleased them the most, was Darby's attention in bringing in a bottle of whisky under one arm, and one of brandy under the other. Pouring out several glasses, he presented them to each, according to their choice; taking the blessed Vargin to witness that a glass of good spirits was the best maidsicne iver envinted for weakness of the stomach, after straitching it with punch the overnight.

Darby's courtesy was taken in good part; and after he had retired, the conversation turned upon his extraordinary humor. At length Col. St. Leger, seeming to recollect himself, said, "I am afraid, my Lord Duke, your Excellency made a bit of a blunder last night; you conferred the honor of knighthood on this same landlord."—"Did I, by heaven!" exclaimed his Grace. "That you did," replied the colonel. "Bless me, how unfortunate! why didn't you prevent me?" "I endeavored to do so with all my might, but your Excellency's arm was too potent; and I preferred seeing your weapon fall upon *his* shoulder, rather than have it thrust into me." "What an unfortunate affair!" exclaimed the Duke, rising; "but I suppose the fellow doesn't recollect the circumstance more than myself; let us call him in. I wouldn't have such a thing reported at St. James's for the world; I should be recalled, and be the laughing stock of every one at the Court. Zounds! to knight the landlord of a common punch house! the thing is surely impossible."

"Both possible and true," replied the Colonel; "but let us ring for him, and see what he himself says about the matter." Darby, who was in attendance on the outside of the door, heard all that passed, and resolved to resist every attempt to deprive him of his newly acquired honors. On entering the room the following dialogue took place.

Duke—I say, landlord, we were all quite jolly last night?

Darby—Your honor's noble Grace may say that same; we drank thirteen whacking bowls of punch among five of us.

Duke—Ah! so we did, I believe—thirteen to the dozen—and you supped with us?

Darby—Many thanks to your Grace's Excellency, Darby Monaghan did himself that same honor.

Duke—No honor at all, my good fellow. But I say, Darby, do you recollect any thing particular that I did in the way of joke, you know; some foolish thing, when we were all as drunk as fiddlers?

Darby—Certainly, your Dukeship may say that, any how. I dare say the colonel well remimbers you filling up the last bowl from the whisky jug, instade of from that containing the hot water. By the powers! I could not stand that; it set me off whizzing like a top, and does not remember one single thing after we emptied it.

Duke—[Laughing]—Oh, then you don't remember my drawing my sword and threatening to run you through the body?

Darby—The Lord above foriver presarve yer Dukeship's Highness from cru'l murder and sudden death all the days of yer life! I don't remimber any such thing; but I remimber well the whack yer Excellency's Royal Highness gave me with that same sword over my shoulder, when ye bid me "rise up, Sir Darby Monaghan."

Duke — You do ? eh ! But that was all in jest, you know Darby ; and so we must think no more about it.

Darby — Long life to your Highness ! but I took it in right earnest ; more by token that my shoulder aches at this moment with the blow ; but I mustn't mind that, for it was given upon an honorable occasion, and resaiued with good will—so thanks to yer Excellency for all the favors now and hereafter.

Duke — But you don't presume to suppose, my good fellow, that I actually conferred upon you the honor of knighthood ?

Darby — By the powers ! your Highness, but I do. Sure I wouldn't be after doing your Highness such discredit as to think ye meant to break yer royl word to man or mortal.

Duke — Oh the devil ! — [whispering] — I say Colonel what is to be done ?

Colonel — [Whispering] — Give him some berth, and make him promise to say nothing about the frolic.

Duke — Well, Darby, I don't mean to act scurvily towards you. I can give you a tidewaiter's place, or something in the excise, that will bring you in about one hundred and fifty pounds a year, and make you independent for life.

Darby — [Kneeling, and kissing the Duke's hand] — Let me go on my merry bones once again, to thank yer Royl Highness for being so good and merciful to poor Darby Monaghan ! He'll niver forget to remimber to pray for yer excellency to the blessed saints, on Sunday or holiday.

Duke — Well, then, Darby, it is settled that you give up the title, and that nothing shall ever be said about last night's adventure ?

Darby — Give up the title ! yer Grace ? and not be called Sur ! after all ? I thought the hundred and fifty pounds a-year was to keep up my style as a true and loyal knight.

Duke — No, faith ! you sha'n't have place and title too, so choose without delay.

Darby — [Pausing] — Well, yer Grace, if yer Excellency plaíses' I'd rather keep the title ; for, d'ye see, it 'ill be such a wonderment for a punch house to be kept by Sir Darby Monaghan, that I'll soon have all the custom of Dublin city ; and that 'ill be better than a tidewaither's place, any how.

Duke — [Laughing.] — Well, then, what more argument about that matter, you shall have a place of about two hundred and fifty pounds a-year, and you must give up your knighthood this instant.

Darby — [Going out] — Plase your Excellency, then, I'll just step up stairs, and ax hir *Ladyship's* advice ; and, I dare say she'd rather have the money. So I'll inform your Honor's Grace in a twinkling.

Her Ladyship was accordingly consulted on this important question ; and she wisely, and without hesitation, voted for the income of two hundred and fifty pounds, which they enjoyed for many years. The *title*, too, stuck by them till the last ; for after the Duke's departure from his vice-royalty, the affair was bruited abroad, to the great amusement of the middle and lower orders in Dublin, who never failed to address the fortunate couple by the appellations of “ Sir Darby and Lady Monaghan.”

London Clubs.

NO. V.

JANE WEMPLE STARIN¹.

One of the sufferers by St. Leger's raid, was Jane Wemple Starin, the grandmother of Hon. John H. Starin, ex M. C., from the state of New York². The trials of this heroic and patriotic woman, if given in detail, would fill many pages. Hon. John H. Starin, writing to the author in regard to his (Mr. Starin's) grandmother, says: "My grandmother, Jane Wemple Starin, was of Dutch descent, her maiden name being Jane Wemple. She lived in the present village of Fultonville, Montgomery Co., N. Y., before there was any village there, her house, indeed, being the only one. It was on the south bank of the Mohawk river opposite Caughnawaga, and was kept as an inn. It was the headquarters of the mail route to the north and west, which crossed the river at this point by a ford. My grandfather was an Indian interpreter, and his brother, my great uncle, was the first judge in that part of the State.³ The inn also was a kind of halting-place

¹ Her maiden name was Jane Wemple; one of the Wemple family who, together with the Fondas, Vroomans and Veeders, founded, in 1762, the Dutch church at Caughnawaga, the present village of Fonda, Montgomery Co., N. Y. The original church edifice is, I believe, still standing.

² It is probably due to this fact that Mr. Starin has always shown such interest in the Saratoga Monument Association of which he is the president. Indeed, it is solely to his efforts that the trustees have been able to begin the erection of the monument now completing at Schuylerville, N. Y.

³ Hon. Wm. J. Bacon gives the following account of Mr. Starin's great uncle in his exceedingly able and instructive address on "The Early Bar of Oneida," delivered in 1875 in Utica, N. Y. We quote:

"The first incumbents of the Herkimer Common Pleas, which then (1798) included Oneida county, were three fair-minded, intelligent and upright laymen, viz. Henry Starin, judge, and Jedediah Sanger and Amos Wetmore, justices. Of the first of these men a very graphic, and, I am inclined to think, a very just sketch, is given by our former highly esteemed townsman, William Tracy, Esq., of New York,

for bands of western Indians who were on their way east to visit their Great Father at Washington ; and often at night the halls of the inn would be so thickly filled with sleeping red men that my grandfather could hardly pick his way among them. There was also a permanent encampment of Mohawks just beyond the inn ; while directly in its front, there were several eel-wiers that the Indians had built in the river, one of which still (1882) is plainly to be seen.

“ My grandmother, who died at Syracuse, N. Y., in 1841, at the age of nearly 85 years, was a very neat old lady ; and I well recall the short gown (spun and woven by herself) that she wore, and the pocket fastened by a string around her waist, and worn underneath the gown, which had to be pulled up whenever she wanted to reach her pocket. She always carried in it some tidbit for the boys.” Mrs. Starin’s memory to the day of her death was remarkably retentive ; and on a winter’s night, while the flames went roaring up the

in the two most valuable and entertaining lectures delivered by him in this city, more than thirty years ago. Starin was a plain, honest Dutch farmer, living at German Flats, of limited education, but with a large stock of common sense and sound judgment, and, above all, an incorruptible integrity. His sense of the inviolability of contracts and the duty of fulfilling them, is well illustrated in the amusing but well authenticated incident of his refusing a discharge to an applicant for the benefit of the insolvent act until he had paid all his debts, to be relieved from which, it need hardly be said, was the very object and purpose of the application.

“ The first record we have of any court held within the territory of what is now the County of Oneida, is in October, 1793, when a Court of Common Pleas was held in a barn belonging to Judge Sanger, in the town of New Hartford, and over this court Judge Starin presided, assisted by Justices Sanger and Wetmore. An incident occurred at this session of the court, which is so amusing and illustrative, that I venture to reproduce it substantially as it is related by Tracy, in the lectures already alluded to. The day was cold and chilly, and the barn of course had no appliances for creating artificial warmth. In the absence of these, and with a view to keeping their faculties awake, some of the attending lawyers had induced the sheriff (an impulsive and obliging Irishman, named Colbraith), to procure a jug of ardent spirits, which was quietly circulated around the bar, and from which each one decanted (taking it like oysters raw from the shell) the quantity that would suffice to keep them up to concert pitch. While this was going on, the judges, who were

hugh chimney, and the fire-light merrily played among the fitches of bacon hanging from the smoked rafters overhead, she would recount to her grandchildren gathered around, her many adventures in a newly settled country, and the sufferings endured by herself and kindred when forced to fly on the approach of the savage hordes of St. Leger.

Mr. Starin comes, indeed, of good old revolutionary stock. His grandfather, the Indian interpreter mentioned above, fought throughout the war for American Independence, and was one of ten of the Starin family who served in the Continental army directly under Washington. To Sampson Sammons, the great-great-uncle of Mr. Starin, belongs the honor of having had fired at him the *first shot in the war of the Revolution* west of the Hudson; while his son, Jacob Sammons, in attempting to erect

suffering from the cold without any such adventitious relief, consulted together, and concluded that rather than freeze in their seats they would adjourn the court until the ensuing day. Just as they were about to announce this conclusion, and to call on the sheriff to make the usual proclamation, the latter sprang up with the jug in his hand, and handing it up to the Bench, exclaimed, 'Oh, no, no, Judge, don't adjourn yet. Take a little gin; that will keep you warm. 'Taint time to adjourn yet.' Tradition says the court yielded to the soft persuasion, and in the language now common and familiar to our ears, 'smiled,' and proceeded with the business of the court. What sort of justice prevailed during the remainder of that day, the historian of the incident does not tell us, and cotemporary tradition is silent on the subject." Judge Bacon, (who is the best living authority on the subject) also kindly writes me the following additional particulars of Judge Starin. "Judge Starin was born about eleven miles below the city of Utica, in the county of Herkimer, which then included within its limits what are now the counties of Oneida, Madison, Oswego, Lewis, Jefferson and St. Lawrence. He was a militia officer at the beginning of the Revolution, and is reputed as having been present at the battle of Oriskany; and from that time held the position of colonel of the Tryon County Militia during the remainder of the war. He had not only good common sense and great integrity (as I state in my lecture on the Oneida Bar) but unflinching courage and loyalty and many attempts were made to capture him by the enemy, which, by his great shrewdness and presence of mind, he escaped; but finally, on one occasion, he was surprised by the Indians and shut up in a wigwam overnight, his captors proposing to burn him alive the next morning. But in the dead of night he escaped through an opening, and fleeing swiftly he eluded pursuit by taking to the water and following the bed, until fortunately, finding a canoe among the willows on the bank he unloosed it, and moving down the stream, reached his home safely by noon of that day."

a liberty-pole at Caughnawaga in 1775, was struck down by a loaded whip in the hands of Col. Guy Johnson, and returned to his father's house bearing upon his body the first scars of the Revolutionary contest in the county of Tryon. See *Stone's Brant*, Vol. I, pp. 52, 107. Jacob Sammon's grandson, the late Col. Simeon Sammons, of Fonda, N. Y., during our late civil war, equipped, put in marching order, and conducted to Harper's Ferry, eleven hundred men in twenty-nine days. When Sammons reached Washington and was asked the usual question what he had come for, instead of expressing, as many did, a desire for easy quarters near the capitol, he answered "to fight by —"; and as evidence of the sincerity of his purpose he brought home two bullets in his body. Again, at the springing of a mine in front of Petersburg, he leaped over the parapet and, though his foot was shattered by a bullet, caught the standard and planted it in triumph on the works of the enemy. He was also, we believe, engaged at Fredericksburgh, and was near the late Col. Welcome B. Sayles of the 7th R. I. Vols. when that gallant and meritorious officer fell (mortally wounded by a shell) while waving his hand to encourage his men who were crossing the river on pontoon bridges in the face of a galling fire from the enemy stationed on the high bank in their front^t.

^t Judge Hienrich Starin was the author of the celebrated "Yankee Pass," the story regarding which runs as follows; The early Dutch of the Mohawk Valley were very strict in keeping the Sabbath; and the legal penalties for such infringement were rigorously enforced. Now it chanced that one Sunday morning as Judge Starin was going to church, he met a Yankee peddler on horseback quietly jogging along on his way east. Straightway the judge arrested him, and having received from the offender the customary fine of four shillings, was asked by the latter if — now that the penalty had been paid — he would not give him a pass to travel the remainder of the day, especially as he was in a hurry to finish his journey, and did not wish to be delayed? To this seemingly reasonable request the judge consented, and requested the Yankee (as he had not his glasses by him) to write it out himself and he would sign it. This having been done, the judge affixed his signature to the document and the peddler went on his way. Some weeks afterwards, the judge

ADDENDA.

NOTES THAT SHOULD HAVE APPEARED IN THEIR PROPER PLACES, BUT WERE ACCIDENTALLY OMITTED.

Page 3, note 2, add: La Chine also derives an additional and melancholy interest from the fact that it was the scene of a most shocking massacre in the summer of 1689, in consequence of the incapacity of Gov. Denonville. During the night of the 5th of August, of that year, amid a wild hail and rain storm, 1,400 Iroquois warriors crossed Lake St. Louis, and before daybreak had surrounded every house at La Chine within a radius of several miles. At a given signal the invaders raising the dreadful warhoop fell upon the sleeping inmates of the little hamlet, and dragged the sleepers from their beds. Those houses that could not be forced were fired and the terrified settlers rushed forth to escape the flames, only to be stricken down by the tomahawks of the savage incendiaries stationed at the doors. Unborn infants were torn from their mother's wombs, and fathers were compelled to throw their children into the flames. Two hundred persons were literally

happening to be in Kane's store in Canajoharie, was presented with a sight note of hand for \$25, which the storekeeper, knowing it to be first class paper, had purchased. Judge Starin at first was utterly astounded, yet confessed that the signature was his and no mistake. Finally, after puzzling his brains for several minutes and having had described to him the person who sold the note, he suddenly exclaimed, "Confound it! It's that d—— Yankee Pass!" However, the judge, enjoying the joke, although at his expense, cheerfully took up the note, but ever more steered clear of Yankees — particularly those seeking passes on the Sabbath day!

In 1795, that amiable and philosophical traveler, the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt on his way east from Niagara, tarried over night at the inn kept by Judge Starin's brother, the Indian interpreter. "The inn," says the Duke, "was full of people indisposed with the ague. The whole neighborhood was crowded with others in the same condition; and by his [Starin's] account, numbers of travelers are daily arriving, who have not escaped the influence of the tainted air, and of the contagion which prevails in the district of the Genesee."

roasted alive; others died under prolonged tortures; while many more were carried away prisoners to be reserved for a lingering and horrible death at a future time. "The fair island upon which the sun shone brightly erewhile," says the historian M. Garneau, "was lighted up by fires of woe; houses, plantations and crops were reduced to ashes, while the ground reeked with blood up to a line a short league apart from Montreal city. The savages crossed to the opposite shore, the desolation behind them being complete; and forthwith the entire parish of La Chine was wasted by fire, and many of its people massacred." The year that this tragical incident took place, has ever since been known in Canadian annals as "The year of the Massacre." The massacre at Schenectady, six months later, was done in reprisal for that of La Chine, which was attributed to English instigations.

Page 11, note I. The following letter is to be read in connection with the above note:

"BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, ENG., }
4th September, 1882. }

Dear Sir: Mr. Bond [the librarian-in-chief] is on vacation, but I have lost no time in having a search made, both in the department of MSS., and that of Printed Books for the information you desire.

Mr. Scott, of the department of MSS., reports that the information has been already sought for in vain; and that fresh researches prove equally fruitless. Mr. Bullen, keeper of the department of Printed Books, has caused the "London Gazette" and the "Gentleman's Magazine" to be consulted for the particulars, but without satisfactory result.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

T. NICHOLS,

Assistant Secretary."

MR. WILLIAM L. STONE.

Page 13, add to the note on Lieut. George Singleton, the following: Lieut. Singleton was sent by Col. Willett to Schenectady, where he remained many months upon parole, but when sufficiently recovered, he broke that and ran off with some Tories.—*Bonney's Historical Gleanings*.

Page 20, note 1, add: Although I give in my *Burgoyne's Campaign*, a sketch of Gen. Fraser, I omitted a well authenticated anecdote of him, which should be preserved, as showing one of that officer's many noble and admirable qualities. The anecdote is thus told by Jonathan Eastman in his memoir of Gen. Stark, published at Concord, N. H., in 1831. Mr. Eastman says: "Two of the American officers taken at Hubbardstown relate the following anecdote by him [Fraser]. He saw that they were in distress, as their continental paper would not pass with the English; and offered to loan them as much as they wished for their present convenience. They took three guineas. He remarked to them, 'Gentlemen, take what you wish — give me your due bills, and when we reach Albany I trust to your honor to take them up; for we shall doubtless overrun the country, and I shall probably have an opportunity of seeing you again.' Gen. Fraser fell in the battle of the 7th of Oct.; the notes were consequently never paid; but the signers of them could not refrain from shedding tears at the fate of this gallant and generous enemy."

Page 64, add to note on Buck (Carleton) Island: "The celebrated Jemima Wilkinson," says Rochefoucault," in 1794, thought of removing her family and establishment from Bluff Point on Crooked Lake, N. Y., and of settling in Carleton Island on the Lake of Ontario, where she would enjoy the

satisfaction of living under the English Government, which, by her account, had proffered her a grant of land."

Page 84, note 1, add: Fort Bull was a block-house surrounded by palisades and furnished with loop-holes; "but formed in such a strange manner," says Garneau, "that the latter served as a protection to assailants, who could fire under cover at the defenders within, and whose persons were completely exposed." The palisades having been cleared away with hatchets, the fort, as stated in note on page 84, was taken by assault, and the entire garrison, except thirty, put to the sword.

Page 85, as a note to "Missisagues," read: "The Missisagues," writes the Hon. Wm. C. Bryant to the author, "were Algonquins. They composed the Eagle Tribe of the Ojibawa nation, and resided on the western shore of Lake Ontario near the site of the present city of Toronto. Their descendants occupy a Reserve on the Grand River, given them by the British Iroquois." Speaking of this tribe, the Duke Rochefoucault Liancourt, who visited it in 1795, says: "About forty miles from Kingston are some villages of the Missasogas [Missisagues]; and wandering tribes of the same nation are constantly rambling about the banks of the Lake [Ontario], pass a few nights in one place and a few in another, cross the river on the confines of the United States, and stop in the islands; hunting and fishing are their only employments. They are the filthiest of all the Indians, I have hitherto seen, and have the most stupid appearance. They are said to live poorly, to be wicked and thievish, and men, women and children all given to drinking. The uncommon severity of the winter in this country, occasions not the least alteration in their mode of

living. In their small canoes they carry with them some rolls of the bark of soft birch, which serve to cover the huts built in the form of a cone, wherein they sleep, and which are supported merely by some slight props, on which rest these portable walls, that at the top leave a passage for the smoke." Now contrast the above description of this tribe as given by that kindly and faithful chronicler, Liancourt, with its present condition.

On the 13th of September of this year (1882), a large body of Red-men met to dedicate the council-house which the Missisagues have erected on their reservation. The Missisagues, who now number only 220 persons, own 2,000 acres of land divided into fifty-acre farms, and all under cultivation; they maintain a church and a school, and have \$200,000 in the government funds. Thinking that their prosperity entitled them to the convenience of a council-house in which to transact their business, they erected a neat and comfortable building, and asked their friends to help them dedicate it. About 1,500 members of the Six Nations and Indian delegates from remote points were present. Songs, speeches, dances, the music of brass bands and an abundant dinner made up the regular programme, and the afternoon closed with the formal adoption of the wife of Dr. P. E. Jones, chief of the Missisagues. Mrs. Jones is a white lady, and her husband a regularly educated physician, is a gentleman of many accomplishments. She was received into the tribe under the name of Wabunooqua, "Lady of the Morning." This incident illustrates in a striking manner the good fruits of Canada's Indian policy compared with the shameful and rascally one pursued by the United States.

Page 91, in a note to "a signal for [illegible] anything white in the bow." I have said I thought that in the MS., the word

that seems illegible looks like the *Charity*, i. e., the sloop *Charity*. My friend, General de Peyster, however, thinks otherwise; and I confess his explanation is the most plausible. He writes me as follows: "I think I have discovered the meaning of the illegible word on page 91. You thought it was "*Charity*." I think it was a signal to *Charier*, which was the old French maritime term (according to a French dictionary published in 1799), signifying 'to carry all sail that the masts will bear.' In this case, therefore, it meant a signal to hurry up or to make all possible speed; and the sentence would then read 'a signal for *Charier* [i. e., a hurrying up], anything white in the bow.'"

Page 96, as a note to St. Leger's letter to Lieut. Bird, read: St. Leger's fears of a "carnage" was not unfounded, though he probably did not foresee that this "carnage" would be — as the event proved — perpetrated upon his own troops. "I learned from General Simcoe," says Rochefoucault Liancourt, writing in 1795, "that on St. Leger's retreat, the English troops lost more men from the Indians firing on them, than from the pursuit of the Americans." Neither is this testimony that of one friendly to the Americans. On the contrary, Gen. Simcoe was most bitterly hostile to the colonies, cherishing his animosity long after they had gained their independence. "The hatred of the governor [Gen. Simcoe] against the United States," writes in 1796, Rochefoucault Liancourt, occasions him, on the slightest occasion, to overleap all the bounds of prudence and decency, which he carefully observes in all other matters. He was a zealous promoter of the American war, in which he took a very active, yet very unfortunate part. The calamitous issue of the war has still more exasperated his hostility; and it was with the sincerest grief I listened to his boasting of

the numerous houses he had fired during that unfortunate conflict, and of his intention to burn a still greater number in case of a rupture. In short, the whole of his intentions on this subject was such as the most violent party rage alone can inspire * * * His hatred against the rebels is so violent : and his displeasure, occasioned by the surrender of the forts is so strong ; that the charge preferred against him by the United States, of his having last year assisted the Indians as much as he could, without making himself openly a party in the dispute, seems not devoid of foundation.”

Page 52. The note, containing a description of Fort (Castle) Johnson, should be read in connection with the engraving of Fort Johnson, one of the illustrations of Col. Myers' article on the Tories or Loyalists in America.



Your truly for Mansell



To the Reader.

I desire to express my acknowledgements to Colonel Myers, for his kindness in furnishing at my solicitation the accompanying paper. In using some material, which, he had purposed to devote to a privately printed volume, he has laid myself and the subscribers under additional obligations. Indeed, my thanks cannot be too warmly expressed to General de Peyster and himself—as well known historical amateurs—in this “tripartite” publication; and more particularly, since by a coincidence, both of those gentlemen (together with Mr. Burt who kindly furnished the sketch of Oswego, page 88), have aided me at an unusual period for mental labor, when they themselves were far from well.

In the case of the former gentleman, in addition to his own physical weakness, he has recently suffered from a severe affliction in which those interested in American History have deeply sympathized, viz: the loss of his honored father, the late President of the New York Historical Society.

I wish also to thank Mr. Frank Munsell for the typographical excellence of the “Orderly Book,” and likewise, for his kindness in contributing to it at my request and at his own expense, the beautiful engraving of his father, the late Joel Munsell. Mr. Frank Munsell inherits all the great love for the preservation of the historical and antiquarian lore of our country which made his late lamented father so preëminently known as

one of the most enthusiastic, faithful and *reliable* delvers in this particular mine. In fact, it is not too much to say that but for the late Joel Munsell, many choice nuggets of history would have been utterly lost to the historical scholarship of our land.

WILLIAM L. STONE.



The Tories or Loyalists
IN AMERICA;
BEING SOME TRACINGS FROM THE
FOOTPRINTS OF
SIR JOHN JOHNSON AND HIS COTEMPORARIES
IN THE REVOLUTION.
CONTRIBUTED BY
THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS.

"Ab fas aut ab nefas."

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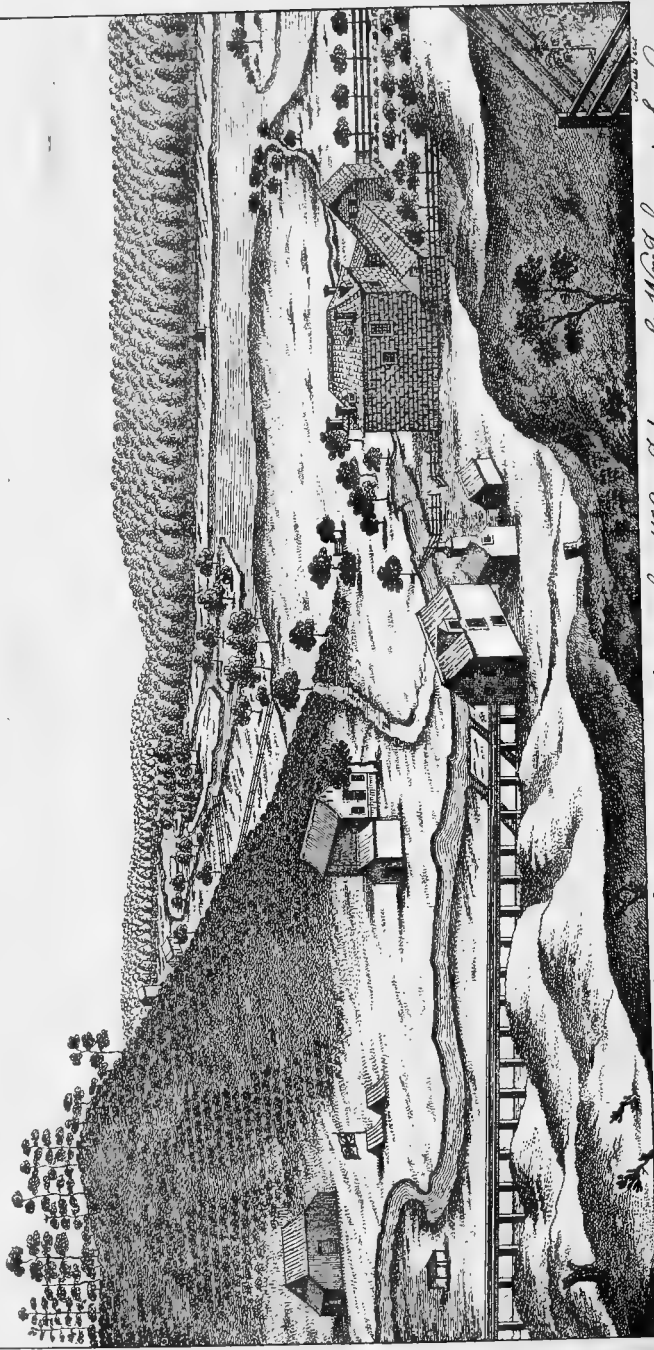


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A North View of Fort Johnson drawn on the spot by Mr. Guy Johnson for Wm. G. Johnson's Son.



THE TORIES OR LOYALISTS



THE accompanying waifs, possessing in themselves as little intrinsic interest as continuity, are a few random footprints of Sir John Johnson's life of exile, spared by the tides of a century which have effaced many of his once deeper impressions on American affairs. They casually fell into the writer's historical collection, mingled with other imported manuscripts, proving at least, that some antiquarian in the old world had considered them worthy of preservation.

The knowledge that amongst such fragments have been found the key to valuable facts, and the elucidation of past events obscured by time, has, as we know, caused a growing interest in the preservation in public or private collections or in print, of anything of a public character, produced by the brain and hands of men who made some mark on their time before passing away.

What seems of little value to one, may become of interest to another, and we know that there are few things existing which have not a place when the problem of supply and demand is solved. Even a rock which has long cumbered the ground becomes valuable when broken up and concreted into a wall.

Although these papers referred to throw very little, and that a later light upon the unfortunate career of Sir John Johnson, which will be found more fully considered by experienced hands in the preceding pages, they have a value as a means of presenting incidentally, such letters of his cotemporaries as space permits, connected with events in which he participated. In themselves they contain little of historical interest and treat more of counting of the cost of war than of its more interesting details.

Some investigator of facts may find in them a suggestion, or possibly a warning, against the repetition of such unremunerative outlay, attending the more valuable loss of blood. To another, they may seem no more instructive, than the brick which the fool in the fable carried with him in his travels, as an illustration of the house in which he lived.

The knowledge that Mr. Stone, who has already supplemented his father's valuable service in furnishing interesting details of struggles between the colonists of France and England, and those of the Revolution on that debatable ground, the northern frontier, in which the romantic Valley of the Mohawk was often a base of British operations,¹ was occupied in connection with General de Peyster (an enthusiastic student and commentator on many of the military events of both continents), in preparing a brochure intended to illustrate the military career of Sir John Johnson, and aiming in a biographical sketch, to remove some of the unanswered obloquy which was piled upon him as the exiled adherent of a lost and unpopular cause,²

¹ *The Life of Sir William Johnson and The Campaigns of General Burgoyne.*

² As an illustration of the then widely prevailing sentiment, the citizens of Worcester, Mass., voted May 19, 1783, "That in the opinion of this town, it would be truly dangerous to the peace, happiness, liberty and safety of these States, to suffer those

with an Orderly Book as a basis, has induced the contribution of these fragments as an annex to their work.

These prefatory notes are added at Mr. Stone's suggestion.

The task of Gen. de Peyster would seem to any unbiased reader to be a natural one to a collateral descendant thus qualified, and infinitely more practicable since our own experiences in the great Civil War.

In the division of section, family and friends which it induced, in the bitterness of the feeling and vehement denunciation of motive and action it called forth, were reproduced those of the Revolution of 1776, only upon a grander scale. Then men weighed their duties and responsibilities, and the relative claims of the flag under which they were born, or those of the states in which they were located, and compared the grievances which had caused the separation from Great Britain with those claimed to have succeeded under that subsequent Union of the States. In recalling the terms of ridicule and reproach engendered by hatred, exchanged between the defenders of that Union and the Confederates, and the little credit given by either

who, the moment the bloody banners were displayed, abandoned their native land, turned parricides, and conspired to involve their country in tumult, ruin and blood, to become the subjects of and reside in this government; that it would be not only dangerous, but inconsistent with justice, policy, our past laws, the public faith, and the principles of a free and independent state, to admit them ourselves, or to have them forced upon us without our consent." * * * * "That until the further order of the government, they (the committees of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety), will, with decision, spirit, and firmness, endeavor to enforce and carry into execution the several laws of this Commonwealth, respecting these enemies of our rights, and the rights of mankind; give information, should they know of any obtruding themselves into any part of this State, suffer none to remain in this town, but cause to be confined immediately, for the purpose of transportation according to law, any that may presume to enter it." These were the general terms meted out to the Tories, recorded in the "Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty," a "Harvard Man" of 1735, and in his time a valued citizen. Although not an active partisan he passed into exile through his scruples in 1775, but as an exceptional case was allowed to return, in the ensuing year, to live and die at his old home in Salem, in 1802.

to the sense of duty which actuated their opponents, we can understand, now that temporary feeling is rapidly passing away, that in the earlier struggle there clearly frequently existed as honest and as opposite convictions of right.

Surely the time has arrived when we can discuss without temper, the motives, and appreciate the loyalty to their government, the sacrifice of life and property, and the sufferings by confiscation and exile of that valuable material for continued citizenship — numbering at least twenty thousand of the inhabitants of a sparsely settled and devastated country — then transferred as Refugees into Nova Scotia and Canada³ to form

³ The following paper endorsed “160, Proposals for a General Naturalization Bill,” from the contents and the appearance of the carefully written manuscript, and of the observations which follow it, was evidently submitted to Parliament soon after the Peace — it is considered worthy of a place, as showing the value attached by the British Government to her exiled adherents, and her desire to retain them in her remaining Colonies, as to her a tried element of population. It will be observed that while providing for all classes of Tories, it ingeniously invites the “Rebels,” whom it assumes to be already dissatisfied with their new experiment, to join them.

“THE INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES who took part with the British Government by remaining or by continuing within the Lines during the War in America, and who have since removed into any part of the British Dominions having never done anything to forfeit their original rights and privileges as British Subjects, are in that respect, in the same situation as at first, and have no want of any act of Parliament on that account. Some of the Americans who did not remove within the Lines, have continued obstinately Non-jurors to the United States to this day. These men during the War suffered much in their property by the payment of double Taxes, and underwent many personal inconveniences, and even insults, and though their situation may be rendered somewhat more Tolerable by the Peace, yet it must be sufficiently disagreeable to induce them to change it, and to remove within the British Dominions, as soon as they conveniently can do it. In what light are they to be regarded, on their arrival in Nova Scotia, or Canada, or elsewhere in the British Dominion? Are they still British Subjects, or must they be at the expense of soliciting Acts of Naturalization? They were originally Natural Born Subjects, they took the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and they have never taken any other Oath of Allegiance, how then can they consistently with common reason and equity be regarded as Aliens, and on their arrival in the British Dominions, to claim privileges which are their birthright, and which they have never forfeited by any Act of Theirs, be put to the expense of being naturalized? Are they not rather to be treated as subjects returning from a foreign country, in which adverse Circumstances have detained them, contrary to their Inclinations and

the best elements of population in a country in which they declared on their sad departure, they expected to endure "nine months of winter and three of cold weather in each year."

When the subsequent war of 1812 was carried to, and across the Canadian frontier, our soldiers found in this rejected material their most determined opponents. They naturally had little in common with those, once their countrymen, but then only geographically their neighbors, still politically their foes, and the

Wishes? There are in the United States, men of a different description, who collectively form a numerous Body, men who from the first uniformly refused to take any active part against the British Government, who for some time refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States, but were by the force of Vexations, personal insult, and menaces, finally brought to submit to preserve their estates from confiscation, and themselves and families from suffering the last extremities of Want and Misery. Those men, from their coming in so late, and by compulsion, to acknowledge the Supremacy of the United States, *did not regain either the Friendship or Confidence of their Countrymen*, they simply brought their persons and property within the protection of the Law, and even that was in some instances at least, but nominally such. These men, whose political principles have not been changed, wish to remove, if it could be done on any Valuable Terms. But they must think it a hard case to be considered as Aliens, and be obliged to sue for Acts of Naturalization, at a great and ruinous expense and Loss of Time, and to pray and pay dearly to be declared, what they are conscious in their Hearts, that they have ever been, British Subjects. The last and most numerous Class, and who have neither Law or Equity to urge, but good policy only, are Merchants, the middle and lower Orders of Farmers, Shipwrights, Fishermen and Sailors. That is, those of them who voluntarily, and without any Force or compulsion, took an early and active part in favor of the Revolution, who at the Time judging from appearances and representations made to them, of Absolute Subjection and Slavery on the one hand, and the prospect of Liberty, an exemption from Taxes, and unbounded and unrestrained Commerce on the other, were naturally led, and as it were necessarily impelled, by the Motives and Objects before them, to take the part which they then took, but who on reflection and experience perceive their Error, find all those favorable prospects vanished, and in their place Factions and Licentiousness predominant, their persons or Estates loaded with intolerable Taxes, and their Commerce, more circumscribed and burthened than ever, they are solicitous to regain their former political situation, by removing within the British Dominions, and returning to their Ancient and hereditary Allegiance, if they can be received and admitted to the same privileges, as others of their rank and orders in Life, are entitled to. With regard to the first, that is, the Loyalists already removed, there can be no question. For the two next, the actual non-jurors who are as such to this day, and those who by Violence and Menaces, were forced to take Oath of Allegiance to the New Government, much may be urged in their favor, both in Law and Equity. As to the re-admission of the latter, by much the most numerous Body, and rapidly increasing, political considerations and motives alone can be urged, and those if all the circum-

occupants of their forfeited homes. Compare this adjustment in 1783 with the more wise policy of our government in the late struggle, where, after the suppression of armed resistance, the citizens were soon restored to civil rights, and their property — not lost by military results, and the attendant reduction of values — and were reunited in a common administration of public affairs.

History written in the progress or at the termination of a war, is usually formed like the government by the victorious

stances are understood, and the consequences fully examined into, will prove as forcible as anything that can be urged for the former. It is therefore proposed that a General Declaratory Act should be passed, putting the situation of all those who have already removed from the United States, and Settled in any part of the British Dominions, beyond any future question or doubt, declaring that all who were formerly British Subjects in any part of the United States or born of Parents who were British Subjects in those States, previous to the late Treaty of Peace, shall on their removal into any part of the British Dominions in America, either on the Continent, or in the West India Islands, and on taking and subscribing the Oath and declaration which shall be acquired by them, shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges of free and natural born subjects of Great Britain, provided that their removal, and taking the Oath be within four years from the passing such Act, provided also that they bring certificates of their having been formerly British Subjects, in the United States when Colonies, or the Children of such Subjects. The oaths to be administered by Magistrates named for that purpose, and recorded in the public Records of the province or Colony where the same shall be taken.

1st Observation. There will be no objection to that part of such an Act, as refers to the Declared, and actually removed Loyalist.

2d Observation. In regard to the two second, no material exception can be taken to persons continuing. Non-jurors are Loyalists, not yet removed within the British Dominion, *their not removing on the evacuation of New York is no Objection, as too many were then under an absolute and pressing necessity to remove, so that their remaining, became a favor to those who did remove, and those forced to submit to the Oath imposed upon them, are to be considered as being nearly in the same predicament.*

But 3dly, if these are admitted, it is hardly possible to prevent the last description from coming in under their Character, not inconsistent with that of a Merchant, a Farmer, a Shipwright, a Fisherman, or a Sailor, *these orders of men are immediately wanted, and in Great Numbers, in Nova Scotia and Canada, and as those orders of men find themselves pressed by taxes in the United States and their Commerce restricted as Aliens and Foreigners by this and other Nations, and burthened with duties and imports by their own Government they will naturally incline to remove and such an encouragement may probably render Nova Scotia and Canada populous, and rich in a very few years.*

sentiment. *Vae victis!* It is left to posterity in most cases to do justice to the unfortunate.

In Painting and Cartography, truth to nature, and accuracy, are indispensable to value. We continue our appreciation of Old Masters, and admire and even yet sail by the carefully based and grandly executed Charts of the earlier centuries; while we also accept the new school of Art, as well as the improved Maps which several nations, notably including our own vie in perfecting.⁴ Why should not History, which records, the action of what is held as nature's noblest work, be ranked as a kindred art? While it would be the act of a vandal to alter an old masterpiece, it may be the duty of an humble painter to restore it, and the right of all Artists to seek to improve upon it.

No careful cross reader has failed to detect palpable errors in history, possibly injected in hasty compilation, from ill founded rumor, misconception, or partisan zeal, perhaps allowed to remain until too late for available cotemporaneous correction, by the indifference, or individuality, of even a worthy actor. It would seem as though in all ages, men, while naturally desiring to be recorded as famous in public affairs, or in the field, have permitted the notable achievements of their assistants to be condensed in their own. Often the resort to Official Records has corrected hasty narrative and changed

⁴ An examination of the progress of this science in essential details, although artistic embellishment is less used than formerly, would appear interesting to every one connected with some portion of the surface delineated.

The American "Geographical Society," only a few years since still a problematical undertaking, now grown into a widely appreciated and amply sustained fact; has largely through the unremitting attention of its President, Chief Justice Daly, collected in its Map-room one of the most complete series ever formed by a technical institution, affording an opportunity to those who would appreciate Cartography to examine its claim to be recognized as high Art.

the complexion of what has long been accepted as facts. Such investigations even centuries after, when applied to the history of our late war, or that we are now making, will doubtless prove the shears of Nemesis and continue to clip off a surplus fringe of long seated error.

To aid in such researches and to make its illustration more complete, Old letters, Documents and Diaries⁵ of public interest have each a use. Letters we oftenest rely upon for cotemporary testimony. Diaries kept for personal reference or amusement, even when meagre in detail, but written without the intention of publication, or of influencing the views of others, and so possessing the value of disinterested testimony at the period as to events, persons and dates, have furnished valuable acquisitions to printed history for the reason that they were records of personal impression only and reserved until excitement had passed away. The Orderly Books or Diaries of regiments, have also afforded interesting details of service, against accepted error or conflicting testimony, fixing dates, positions, the number and description of a force, and the compass of its movements, and when annotated by a skillful hand

⁵ The "History of New York, in the Revolutionary War," by the able but cynical Judge Thomas Jones — published through the liberality of one of his relatives, Mr. John D. Jones, and ably edited by another, Mr. Edward Floyd de Lancey, under the auspices of the New York Historical Society in 1879, with copious notes and references, is a rich mine to which any person interested in this subject, may profitably turn from this merely suggestive commentary. The fierce impartiality with which he criticises Whig and Tory, soldier and civilian, induces additional credence to the many curious facts he recorded in exile, of men and events with which he was familiar. A letter from General Huntington to his son, while occupying his fine town house, east of the City Hall,—in that collection—expresses gratitude to him for planting the fruit he was enjoying at his quarters, and its fine view of the harbor. His country estate at Fort Neck, is preserved in the family by an entail that prevented confiscation. This, even with the letter books of Governor Cadwallader Colden, published by that Society, cross read with Judge William Smith's "History of the Province of New York," would in themselves afford an opening for a research similar to that of Carlyle, for the truthful inwardness of affairs at that period, in the city.

and published, have furnished the clew to much information otherwise lost from the woof of history.

Those who have found entertainment in delving into the controversial folios of partisan writers, full of what appeared to them to be truths, have realized how easily, and honestly, men may differ.

In England in the varied changes in the control of a divided people, by Charles I, or by the Parliament, the Commonwealth or the Restoration, those of each in turn had the opportunity of disseminating such convictions, to approving readers, and for posterity to consider and compare. As an example of their utility, it was amongst such discordant narrations—much of which he styled “Shot Rubbish”—that Carlyle, and others, have searched analogically for facts, and it was from such neglected authorities that he derived many of the conclusions, which give color to his illustration of the “Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell,” probably destined to survive those crude “Reminiscences” of his own career, which have recently disappointed his appreciators. The peculiarities of his inverted expression, and thought provoking style, once comprehended, the result of those researches appears to present to the reader, even in a concentrated form, the man, his impulses, and surroundings, often overlooked before in the consideration of the narrative of his remarkable career.

From the mass of such conflicting testimony, has also been in part exhumed at different periods, the material from which such accepted writers as Hume, Smollett, Gibbon, Robertson, Macauley, Alison, Mahon, and many others less broadly known, have erected with the increasing impartiality attending later investigation, Monuments to their country, creditable to the work-

men. Each, in his way has apparently sought to form safe resting places for conviction, by substituting what, after careful inspection, appeared to possess the solidity of fact, for what the impulse of the hour had concentered, but time, and closer investigation, pronounced unreliable.

Some of such investigators, have been impressed with certain coincidences between that Great English Revolution, and our own of 1776.

Arising, in each case amongst the same race, firm in conviction and resolute in assertion, inspired by similar complaints of oppression and sense of right, resulting alike in divided sentiment as to the proper extent of Prerogative, and the remedy against its encroachments, involving at first, heated discussion in public assemblies, filling the minds of many well meaning citizens with doubt as to a course rendered difficult to fix upon by conflicting ties or interests, and finally precipitating in one case the Mother Country and in the other her Colonies, into the horrors of Civil War, seeming in many particulars to be but the renewal of a suspended conflict.

By the result of both of these domestic struggles many who had in former peaceful times been held as valuable citizens, were impoverished and driven into exile⁶ — in the former from the

⁶The following is a letter from John Cruger, Esq., Mayor of New York from 1739 to 1744, and from 1757 to 1766, and Speaker of the Assembly of 1775. He was then a prisoner on parole at the residence of his brother-in-law Peter Van Schaack, the celebrated lawyer, whose wife soon after died from want of proper medical treatment in New York, access to which the regulations of war precluded.

KINDERHOOK, April 12, 1778.

SIR :

I have Rec'd your favor & am Extremely Sorry that any Impediment has arisen in the Way of my going to New York. When I Recd Genl Gates' permission Upon Condition of my Engaging to fulfil the Exchange he proposed, I wrote him I did not chuse to go Upon a condition which it might be out of my

varied successes, drawn from both of the contending factions—affording opportunity to each in turn, to develop the smaller characteristics of nature, in the uses of success as an opportunity for the harsh assertion of authority, in resorting to confiscation, exile and individual suffering, in the changes of property as well as of place.

Now, if we can judge from history and observation, both Cavalier and Roundhead are looked back upon by their descendants and their successors with equal respect, and their actions as the result of conviction, with a common pride. The impressions of the past have been more readily forgotten, in the activity of the present by a large portion of a people, attached like our own to a government which has developed, in the experience of past strife the elasticity of its institutions, and of a progressive energy in rebounding after a strain, to even a stronger tension.

One element of its population, many of the people of Ireland, from circumstances yet adhere to their old prejudices, and still recall Cromwell's severity in his invasion, and

power to perform. Upon which he wrote me as your Excellency Will Recollect from his Letter, that he looked to Sir Henry Clinton for the performance of Any Engagement I should make, and I have reason to think from What I then and have since heard that this matter was settled between these two Generals. Could I have foreseen that it was Possible that this wd have been prevented taking place, I Should I am sure have had no difficulty in Getting the Genls passport Upon which several have gone down, Even after he quitted Albany, Altho I cannot it Seems be so fortunate. Perhaps upon Considering this matter, Your Excellency will be of opinion that Sir Henry Clinton will perform what Genl Gates Relied Upon him for, however diffident your Excellency may be of Genl Jones Who is I believe an Inferior Officer to Sir Henry Clinton. Especially as I shall then go down Upon the Confidence between him and Genl Gates & not upon any promise of Genl Jones. If your Excellency still entertain doubts, I will be content to go down with one Servant only (Leaving my family and Effects,) upon Parole to return if an Exchange cannot be Effected. I sincerely Request of Your Excellency, so far as you consistently can, to take my situation into Consideration, and I hope when you Reflect on ye age and Infirmary of my sister and Self, & the great Inconveniency which we Labour Under here, You Will Readily fall upon some Means to Extricate Us Out of our Difficultys

King William's success at the Battle of the Boyne, with equal bitterness. They had never cheerfully transferred their adhesion from the house of Stewart to either the Prince of Orange or that of Hanover. Many of them, including those of the best element had been driven by that war and its results, into France and other countries, often to become from choice soldiers, in many cases still represented by their descendants, with the same courage which turned the current of the fight at Fontenoy, and made the command of the regiment Dillon, long hereditary. Others came to America, replacing the departed loyalists, soon exceeding them in numbers, and rapidly increasing as we know, until in many sections they form a very large element of population. Their hereditary prejudices and their natural tendency to politics, perhaps inspired by the consideration of their grievances, the apparent error of the government in not fostering their manufactures, industries and universal education, have perhaps united to produce for generations political agitations and

Which I shall be happy to Retaliate by Every means in my power, to procure the Enlargement of any family, which may be desirous of moving out of New York.

I have the honour to be With great Esteem

Yr Ex. Most Obed &

Very humb. Servt

His Ex. Gov. Clinton.

JOHN CRUGER.

GOVERNOR CLINTON'S ANSWER.

POUGHKEEPSIE, April 19, 1778.

SIR :

I have received your letter of the 12th Instant & in Answer thereto, am reduced to the necessity of Informing you that I cannot consent to your going to New York in any other way than that of exchange. The conduct of Messrs. Wallace, Sherbrooke & several others who were indulged to go in on Parole & to return, or send out some citizens, in exchange, has rendered the like indulgence to others altogether improper. At any rate the intercourse between the Country & City will be totally prohibited for some Weeks to come as the Commanding Officer, were I ever so willing, will not suffer any Persons to pass the Posts below. I shall be always ready Sir to grant you every Indulgence consistent with the Duty of my Office.

I am Sir Your Most Obedt. Servt,

John Cruger, Esq.

(GEORGE CLINTON.)

misunderstandings at home, and probably induced an immense emigration, who by becoming citizens, necessarily separate themselves politically from their country and have in the seaboard cities especially, largely acquired that control of which they were deprived in their old home, centuries ago.

It is a singular paradox, attending the gigantic prosperity of the country, that while one large class of citizens neglect, in the excitement of business occupations, even the ordinary duty of electors, another often abandon the opportunities for solid prosperity and wealth, attracted by the glitter of authority and perhaps ephemeral salary, and in seeking office devote their lives to "politics," and their advancement to the control of its dispensers.

While the majority of the people of Great Britain accepted the House of Hanover cheerfully, if coldly, they took no interest in the complications of the first two sovereigns, in protecting their birthplace and Principality on the continent. Its position involved them in the "Seven Years' War"—without eventual advantage, and imposed upon them a heavy indebtedness, partially to meet which, in the reign of George III, the attempted taxation of his American colonies, also its seat, was resorted to, which afforded them their opportunity.

The history prepared by a conquered enemy is generally little accepted by the victor, beyond its use in illustrating some strategic detail. Its statements of any motives, or of rights invaded, or injustice done, would be as indifferently received as the argument of a case after the jury had retired—a barren effort which is believed to have at times affected intellects. That of the English writers, as to the Revolutionary war has rarely been generally accepted or studied, in search for even minor particulars, by those satisfied with results. In our own histories,

while doing justice to the general details of the origin and progress of the conflict, little attention was naturally given to personal conviction, or to apparent necessity, as influencing the action of any ally of the enemy, while resisting the success of a struggle for Independence. Tory and Hessian, have been rated with the Indian, and all considered the worst elements of a bad cause, best remembered as the perpetrators of those ravages of war, impressed more strongly, by tradition and early history, upon the communities where they occur, than any nobler action, and therefore more likely to survive. That they soon departed, leaving neither apologist nor vindicator, seems to afford a sufficient reason for some just consideration of their then position, a century later.

We have realized some "modern instances" since, where prejudice has unduly obscured, or partiality unreasonably brightened, the records of the wrestlers in a world of action.

The annexation of Texas — a Republic then recently carved out of the territory of a friendly power, while it slumbered—may be recalled by some as having presented a question of such then apparently vast importance, as to have seemed for a time to shake the foundation of our own government. Strict constructionists of law, and those watchful of the integrity of our avowed national policy, entered into vehement protest against an act for which they could discover no authority, and its inevitable result, in a war with a weaker power, to acquire by force a territory, then looked upon without coveting it, by a large portion of the people. The debates in Congress on the subject, will survive as long as the government they affected by their results, as characterized by marked ability and vehemence, for there were surely *many* statesmen in Congress at that period. When the war was precipitated, all differences were speedily buried and the

Maxim "Our Country Right or Wrong," silenced dissent or opposition and carried brave men of both factions in concert to the field.⁷ Many Americans residing in Mexican Territory, under such protection as it could afford to their property, naturally placed themselves under their national colors. We can conceive that if the Mexican forces had then been able to invade the United States, the action of *her* citizens residing within their borders and enjoying their protection would have been a subject for jealous scrutiny! Their duty to the flag under which they were born, unless abandoned by a new allegiance, could not be questioned, while its exercise against the government that had protected them would have been considered as an act of aggravated hostility.

In our Civil War the manhood of the country of an available age largely buried political dissensions, and when the question was narrowed to that of the supremacy of the flag, hastened to the front. When such voluntary material for its maintenance seemed exhausted, the additional inducement of large bounties was added to the customary pay to stimulate patriotism, or compensate for the time diverted from personal enterprise. It was then noticed that the representation of

⁷ The anxiety to obtain service in this war, and the enthusiasm which attended its progress, when once precipitated must be recalled by many. More troops were offered than could be used, and the Southern and Southwestern States, more sectionally interested in the acquisition of new territory, continually pressed the offer of additional regiments. Those of New York, which succeeded in obtaining orders, did good service in Mexico and California, while others offered could find no place. The contributor recalls how, although opposed to the annexation from surrounding association, and scarcely qualified by age as an elector, happening to be, for the second time, aid de camp to a notable Governor of the old school, and thus a Colonel on the Peace Establishment, inspired by the sentiment of the moment, he committed that operation so painful to all soldiers, actual or implied, waived his rank and raised a company, in a regiment which was so denied the privilege of fame or the possibility of failure. The effort was an effect of the electricity with which all were charged, impressing even a titular soldier with the value of his sword, rather than of his rank.

other nationalities in our ranks was largely increased. In the rising of a government in its force to preserve its existence, the way was necessarily subordinated to the means, and all were acceptable. Even the Chinese, valueless as an elector, would have been welcome in the hour of danger, to fight for a nationality open to all others, as the home of liberty. It was noticeable also, that when hostilities finally ensued, many who had long excited by their persistent eloquence the people of both sections to seek for, to cherish, if not to magnify differences, until a perhaps inevitable conflict was precipitated, did not crowd into the ranks, or if in Congress, all follow the example of that gallant Senator, Edward D. Baker, a proto-martyr of that body in the conflict, who falling at the head of his regiment at Balls Bluff, while practically advancing his plea for the Union, made a more lasting impression than words addressed to applauding galleries, by men of either section fired by zeal, who failed to afterwards emphasize the depth of their convictions, by service in the field.

Those who did this followed an old precedent, established by members of both houses of Parliament in the English Civil War, where, as an example, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland⁸,

⁸ Clarendon in his "History of the Great Rebellion" thus records the virtues of one who might have been an agreeable and instructive associate, "he was a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, and of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, and of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon the odious and accursed Civil War than that single loss, it must be most infamous to all posterity." He was deeply depressed by the compass which he foresaw in the conflict, frequently cried to himself "Peace, Peace," and doubting its speedy coming; having accompanied the King at Edgehill, Oxford and Gloucester, being his Secretary of State, he threw himself as a volunteer into the front rank of Lord Byron's regiment, at the battle of Newberry, and was killed by a musket ball.

"Thus Falkland died the generous and the just," at least another martyr to honest convictions.

a conscientious patriot, and one of the first to rise in Parliament in opposition to grievances, was also one of the earliest to voluntarily die in defence of his sovereign, when he considered that the claims for redress were pressed too far. Many members of our Continental Congress also displayed by their service in the field, their conviction that a statesman whether involuntary, hereditary or professional, does not lessen his official dignity, by contact in the ranks even with those who had not sympathized in the *discussion*, until forced into the *conflict* by results.

Gallant service in both the council and the field would appear to be unanswerable evidences of at least honest convictions.⁹

The Trumpeter, in another fable, would appear to have been properly denied immunity, as a non-combatant, for the reason that he incited bloodshed by his noisy brass. It had already

⁹ An example of this disinterested appreciation of a double duty, may be cited in Lewis Morris, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of Congress, grandson of a Colonial Governor of New Jersey, in his turn the son of an English officer of Cromwell's army, who had made America his refuge at the Restoration—the proprietor of a Manor of some thousands of acres called Morrisania, in Westchester, New York, and an honored citizen, who, although like the Johnsons, with much to lose personally, for the prospect of a gain by a change of government, threw his fortunes into an opposite scale. His love to freedom, probably hereditary, early carried him into public life, and with his beautiful home desolated, his family scattered, his thousand of acres of woodland felled and the British ships lying within cannon shot of his mansion, he was, at the time this letter was written, sitting in Congress and commanding a disaffected Brigade, in the southern part of Westchester County, the most disloyal portion of a Tory State. It is taken from the original :

PHILADELPHIA, September 24, 1776.

SIR :

I had the honor to receive your Letter accompanying the Resolve of Congress relative to my return to resume the command of my Brigade, at a time when the State to which I belong is invaded, and particularly as I am honored with a military command, I esteem it my duty to account for my absence. Since my arrival at Philadelphia, the State of New York has had no more than a representative in Congress, and as the Gentlemen of the Committee of Indian Affairs were mostly out of Town, the whole of that necessary business has been devolved upon me. *My family have been obliged to desert their home, and meeting with them in this place,*

been discovered, that it was easier to excite than to allay a conflict, and that only the peacemaker *was* blessed.

There is a middle course, which caution has often suggested to personal interest, in the consideration of all untried enterprises; that of uniting with neither party, while coquetting with, and appearing to entertain, the views of both. From any imputation of such littleness, at least, Johnson and his Tory associates would appear to have been free, as the evidence of their offence was in their undisguised coöperation.

When the French fleet, with Rochambeau's army, was groping its way in search of Newport and towards Yorktown, on the 10th of July, 1780, through Martha's Vineyard, and the fogs which yachtsmen so often deplore, an islander boarded the *Conquerant*, 74 — conveying Generals the Baron de Vioménel, Count de Custine, who soon after led the advanced troops to

altogether unprovided, I have been under the necessity of delaying the time of my stay until I could fix them in some situation where they could be accommodated. This distress of my Family on this occasion made it my particular duty to attend to them, and which I flatter myself will be justifiable upon every principle of justice. The situation of my Brigade I was convinced was well known to the Convention, I apprehended that not more than a Colonel's command was left in it, and as such did not think my presence was so absolutely necessary. I have thought that the existence of such a Brigade, in which were so many disaffected persons, was dangerous to the cause as well as to my own life. But being desirous to participate in the virtuous opposition to the British Tyrant, I had determined as soon as possible to join Gen. Washington and contribute my assistance to him, prompted in the first instance by a Love of my Country, and in the next place the preservation of my property, being thoroughly convinced that unless we conquer I am ruined. However in obedience to the command of Convention I shall prepare with all possible expedition to set out for Westchester, and will endeavor to execute any orders they may be pleased to give to the utmost of my ability.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, Sir, Your obliged and Obed't Humble
Servant,

LEWIS MORRIS.

(To the President of the Provincial Congress of New York).

He afterwards returned to service, was a Major General and had, as his fellow officers, three of his sons. Of his own brothers, Staats Long continued in the British service, became a Lieutenant General. Richard was a Judge of Admiralty, and Gouverneur the well esteemed Diplomatist and Congressman.

the Peninsula and performed valuable service there, and many officers and men of those auxiliaries — and who was useful as a pilot bringing valuable information, as to the Americans still holding Rhode Island,²⁰ “he was a good man” — says the Chief Commissary who was daily bottling up facts for our later refreshment — “and displayed intelligence. *He was neither a Royalist, or Insurgent, but a friend of everybody, as he told us with much simplicity.*” As the arrival of this expected assistance was an *occasion* for the expression of pleasure, and as the struggle it was coming to aid in terminating had long given opportunity for the formation of an opinion, it seems clear that he was a Loyalist, and yet in a condition to avail himself of the rapidly approaching success, with all the privileges of a patriot.

But courage based upon even *erroneous conviction* may claim respect. A generous opponent after success in defeating an object which from principle he has opposed, is often the earliest reconciled, and a heart conscious of the duty of loyalty, most open to forgive an honest but mistaken conception.

Thus, in later years, after time for comparison of events and reflection, such appreciation has even extended over the seas to the adherents of the Pretender, who lost their lives and estates in a hopeless effort to restore the unfortunate house of Stuart, to whom their fathers owed allegiance; when realizing how that history has also in a way repeated itself in our own land, largely colonized by the exiles of both parties in England's civil wars, and how a similar sentiment inspired many good men, mis-

²⁰ Journal of Claude Blanchard, edited by Wm. Duane and Thos. Balch, Albany, 1876.

During the season of 1881, they were said by the Port officials to be more continuous than for sixteen years, and the whole eastern and the north-eastern coast resounded with the music of the fog horn, with little visible to the cruisers' eye.

takenly as the result proved, to endeavor to sustain the existing government ; and some incidentally to follow or imitate such a leader as Sir John Johnson, in his effort to reclaim his inheritance by the same force that had been used in his eviction. His Scotch, Irish and German tenantry and his Indian allies, whose memory has come down to us as terrible as that of the " Black Douglas " with which babies of the Border were once hushed to sleep, were the same appliances long turned by his predecessor with general approval against the French. The barbarities attending his expedition, if greater than those recorded in all that partisan warfare, may, at this distance of time, be attributed to the bitter sentiment of divided neighborhood and broken friendship, the retaliation of the exile against him who retained or had acquired his home.

In our recent struggle we learned again that many foreign soldiers voluntarily came as has been stated, and accepted service on either side, for glory or for pay, indifferent to the cause ; and also that old neighbors were often the fiercest opponents when meeting in strife.

If, in the light of that experience, there was one whose adhesion to the British Government in 1776 appears most readily accounted for, it would seem to be that of Sir John Johnson. His position as an officer in his King's service made it natural to a soldier ; the personal honor of knighthood from the King's hand while in London, must have influenced his sympathy, aside from the hereditary sense of gratitude for the great bounties and trust conferred on his father.

That father dying in 1774 escaped the responsibility which fell upon his son. It is unnecessary to fully recall the career



*• J.^r William Johnson Bar.
• Major General of the English Forces in North America*

W. Johnson

of Sir William Johnson who was probably the most remarkable, if not the most distinguished, character in American colonial history.

His coming as a youth from Ireland into the then wild Mohawk valley as the agent of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, whose "great and veteran service" to this State, was rewarded in part with the means to secure an estate of 15,000 acres named "Warren's Bush" and afterwards by the gift from the city of New York of a suburban estate—called Chelsea, and now embedded in its limits—especially for his service in the capture of Louisburg;²² his succession from a pioneer planter and country store keeper to the control of the Six Nations of Indians, once the most powerful race on the Northern American Continent, who were likened to the Romans from the extent of their invasions from their northern home, west to the Falls of the Ohio, and south to the waters of Carolina.

²² The capture of Louisburg, the key to Canada, skillfully fortified by a pupil of Vauban, garrisoned by regular French troops, and also protected by vessels of war, by 6,000 Provincials, commanded by "Mr. Pepperel a trader of Piscataqua," as colonel of the largest regiment, was a subject of world-wide wonder at the time, and may still be considered as one of the great military achievements on this continent. Its conception was due to the indefatigable Governor Shirley.

THE FOLLOWING COMMISSION given by Governor Shirley, when commanding *all* the Forces in North America, and signed by Lord Stirling, then Mr. Alexander, a young gentleman of fortune, when acquiring as an amateur the military knowledge which he supplemented by his gallantry, at the Battle of Long Island and in other service, shows the formality with which Indians were regularly commissioned, and educated in the warfare then waging against the French, subsequently turned against the Colonists whom they were then protecting. While the *use* of the Indians was complained of by civilized opponents in both cases, their employment had become habitual.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, MAJOR GENERAL SHIRLEY, COMMANDER-IN CHIEF OF ALL
HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN NORTH AMERICA,

To *Tawenoe*, Greeting :

By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me Granted by His Majesty and reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your *Faithfulness, Attachment and Loyalty* to His most sacred Majesty, King George the Second. I do appoint you, the said *Tawenoe*,

They might then become the balance of power between the English and French colonies, and are now, from the loss of such civilizing authority mainly extinct, enjoying in happier hunting grounds, freedom from the inevitable progress of the white man, before which they steadily pass away, making room for advancing cultivation.

Soon, his acquisition of military and civil power, of influence and estate, until he had become a viceroy in authority, with a princely personal domain, showed a rapid appreciation of his new surroundings. His intimate knowledge of the character of the Indians, his justice and wisdom in their control, their devotion to him, and his adaptation to their customs and language; his defence of the French border and his expeditions into their dominions, until dying a Baronet, a Major General, and Superintendent of Indian affairs, are matters that should be familiar to every reader.

His home, "Johnson Hall," was the theatre of much romantic incident connected with colonial history, and visited at intervals by most of the distinguished men on the

to be *Lieutenant of Indians* employed in the present Expedition for removing the French Encroachments at Niagara, and elsewhere on Lake Ontario, and you are faithfully to discharge the Duty of a Lieutenant of the Indians aforesaid.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at the Camp at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, the first day of September, 1755.

W. SHIRLEY.

By His Excellency's Command,

WM. ALEXANDER, Sec'y.^r

Sir William Pepperel died a baronet, and his successor living to be deprived, his estate also passed into exile. It may be proper to mention, as one of the historical doubts which confuse the reader, that Dr. Dwight has claimed for General Lyman, the second in command, the principal credit for the defeat of Baron Dieskau near Lake George, by Sir William Johnson (Appendix) with the New England, New York and New Jersey Provincials, which aided to relieve the alarm created by Gen. Braddock's disaster, with another division of the army. There was great jealousy at this time between the New England and New York Provincial Troops. It was on such evidences of their skill in arms, that the self reliance of the Colonists in the coming struggle was founded.

We the Subscribers being nominated and appointed
 Executors of the Last Will and Testament of
 David Schuyler late of Connaught in
 the County of Albany deceased, do hereby
 severally renounce and relinquish our Right to the
 Executorship of the said Will. As Witness our
 hands and Seals this 15th day of June
 1766 —

Wm Johnson
 Cathr. Mathes

Witness —

Nicolas Herdimer

Cathr. Mathes
 mark

John Johnson

Johannes Han

Peter Schuyler

Alida Schuyler

Johannes de garron

Signed Seal & sworn by Thomas
 de garron & Alida Schuyler in
 the Presence of

Al-gatey

Peter Feder Baste garron

continent. Their letters addressed to him on various affairs of state, with replies showing condensation of varied intelligence, conveyed in the graceful penmanship of a ready writer, are still preserved — some in the collection referred to—attesting a life of labor in the public service.

In this however, he found opportunity to attend to many personal duties, incident to his position and capacity. Isolated, and only restricted by the orders of the Government, which from better local appreciation of necessities, he alone, as its agent, had ventured to disregard; with an increasing neighborhood of many nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, German and Hollander, as compatriots or tenantry, appealing to him for counsel in every relation of life, from the cradle to the grave, he advised and protected the living, and was burthened with trusts by the dead,¹² cheerfully fulfilling his duties to the lowly as a bountiful benefactor, and hospitably entertaining them with the great, who resorted to the hall, when amusing their leisure time with hardy sports and athletic games. He appears to have afforded an example to those charged with the control of the destinies of aggregates of men.

¹² The accompanying document appears worthy of reproduction, as a pen sketch affording a glimpse of this early backwoods life. As rough in autographic execution as its surroundings, it chances to place on one paper the names, and to show the meeting, of some historical celebrities of border life, friends soon to be divided in strife. The two Johnsons, General Nicholas "Herckmer," as he boldly but roughly writes himself,—in the year in which he was erecting the spacious brick mansion called his "Castle", which survives him near Little Falls,— destined afterwards to sit on the saddle of his dead horse, reclining against a tree, smoking his pipe, and issuing his orders, when mortally wounded in the battle of Oriskany, by the Tories and Indians of St. Leger and Sir John. Colonel Peter Schuyler, for a time acting as Colonial Governor of New York, called "Quider" by the Mohawks, whom he had led successfully against the French, and whom they trusted and loved, and Abraham Yates, Jun., subsequently an early Senator, both of the last at times Mayors of the important border city of Albany. With these are others, not unknown in that local history, although making as feeble impression on their times as on the paper, yet as necessary as are the minor connecting links in Genealogy.

He devoted much attention also, to the erection of churches and schools—even selecting with his intimate knowledge of the Mohawk dialect, the hymns to be sung—and to the education¹³ and spiritual welfare of his savage neighbors, in his relations with whom there was much to recall the habits of the Patriarchs, and to account for this special interest in their progress which was probably remembered in the fidelity of four of the tribes, the Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas and Mohawks, to his son, while the Oneidas alone supported the Americans, after vigorous efforts had been made to secure them all.

One of the latest objects of his attention was the publication of a new edition of the “Book of Common Prayer,” to supply the place of the “Mohawk Prayer Book” printed in 1715, on

¹³ From Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, founder and President of Dartmouth College, and celebrated for his success and usefulness in his extended labors to educate and civilize the Indians. Amongst his pupils was Joseph Brant.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, Feb. 27, 1773,

HON. SIR :

The bearers, Basteen and Lewis, Indians of the Tribe of Loret, have been several months at my school, and have from the first appeared to have an uncommon thirst for Learning, have been diligent at their studies and have made good Proficiency for the Time therein. They appear to be rational, manly, spirited, courteous, graceful and obliging far beyond what I have found common to Indians, and I have observed no undue appetite in them for Strong Drink. They have often expressed a desire to see your Honor since they have lived with me, and now at their Desire I have consented to their making you this Visit.

I esteem them the most promising young Indians I have ever seen, and the most likely to answer the great and good ends of an Education, and I hope their going among their brethren in your parts will have no bad influence to prejudice or distemper their minds. I have advised them to return as soon as they can after they have suitably expressed their duty and respect to you, as I should be sorry they should lose more time from their Studies than shall be needful and also as they will likely have occasion to take several other Journeys soon after their return. I wish your Honor the Divine Presence, Direction and Blessing in the important Business Providence has assigned you in Life and beg leave to assure you that I am with much Esteem and Respect,

Your Honor's most obedient and very humble servant,
ELEAZER WHELOCK.

Sir Wm. Johnson, Baronet.

Bradford's celebrated Press, even then unobtainable and now of great value as one of the rarest of American books.

Although his treaties with them showed the concession of great grants of unoccupied territory to the King's domain, he protected them in their occupancies and reserved rights with a jealous care, which would afford a model for later "Indian Agencies." He carried into effect the policy which Governor Dongan had foreshadowed, of keeping the control of the Indians on British soil and protecting them from the zealous Missionary efforts of their French neighbors, to consolidate them with their own tribes.

Like Lord Chatham, he died in harness, devoting his last hours to duty. The progress of prospecting for locations on Indian lands was already active in 1774. Captain Michael Cresap and Mr. Greathead, had by attendant ravages in the valley of the Ohio, on lands protected by Treaty obligations, aroused Logan and other chiefs, friendly to the whites. It was the old story, with which we have been familiar from youth, being repeated. The entire Indian race on the continent sympathized, the Six Nations were preparing to take arms, even Johnson trembled at the prospect. He invited them to a Great Council, and appealed to their old relations as a guarantee for justice. Sick, when he entered the council, he vehemently addressed them, as was his custom, and died before the session was completed — on the eleventh of July, 1774, in his sixtieth year; but his parting words carried their wonted influence, and peace was preserved.

He combined some of the characteristics of Nestor with those of Ulysses, and surely presents in his administration of his public trust and mainly in his private life, an example to those

charged with large duties and responsibilities. In the plentitude of his evidences of his master's favor and the pressing variety of his occupations, it is doubtful whether in the growing disfavor for the taxes on stamps or tea, he found time even to consider the reasons for a change of government, or felt that a seat in Parliament would have increased his own importance or representative control.¹⁴

It is no reflection upon the purity of the motives, or the wisdom of the action of the fathers of our country that such cases of those thus personally impressed with other views, should have existed, but it is merely another instance of the sometimes honest diversity of opinion and policy which has made the world a battle field.

It may be assumed that then as now, men were governed by individuality and subordinated all to the duty of loyalty, combined in such cases with a sense of interest; and one can easily see how possessing all they could hope for, both father and son struggled to retain it, as would now the holder of a similar valuable estate, franchise, or monopoly, against legislative absorption, opposing opinion, or even suggested amendment.

We see, even in the peaceful walks of life, one man of otherwise noble character, loose self control in asserting a grievance or supporting a right against another, where both are honest, and one, inevitably wrong. Such material, when aggregated even for social purposes, will at times divide in sentiment, and struggle in a ballot, to decide what is humane or right or what is regular, and by the vote of the majority, produce a result in suppressing without altering a deeply seated conviction.

¹⁴ It does not appear that he ever revisited England, as was asserted, but it *may* be recalled that he was the first white man — borne by the Indians on a litter — who resorted to the "Saratoga Springs" for medicinal relief.

Such differences are apparently but miniature representations of the elements aggregated in civil war. A reference to a disinterested party has often remedied the one as a mediation may avoid the other.

John Bright, that life long advocate of peace, who has lived through many wars, has recently presented a remedy against their recurrence. "The policy and aspect of our country and of the world will be changed, if the demon war is confined to the cases in which there seems to Christian and rational men no escape from the miseries it inflicts on mankind." This seems a glittering generality only, until it can be discovered *how* the passion and perhaps the ignorance by which it is generally incited can be induced — best before any use of violence — to submit to such proper arbitration, and then *who* would be admitted to be "rational men" by any usual method of selection.

At least the position of those who sustained the existing government at the Revolution would not appear to have been open to any such solution. A large body of the people had finally settled upon a new form, to which all must submit, without reference to former complication, interest, or ties. There was no intermediate course, nor opportunity to temporize, especially for one prominent from position.

The "Tory" then fought for his sovereign and the existing laws, often after years of resistance to their exactions in every appeal but that of arms, as distasteful then as now. The conservative element had favored to the last, endurance to contest, of which property and business were to bear the cost. Many, even of the leading patriots of the Revolution during its progress gave their testimony, that they did not at its outset contemplate separation, but only to urge concession by the threat

supported by force ; some of them favored mutual conciliation to the end, most prayed for peace.

We have been educated to consider the action of those who were satisfied with the existing government in 1776, as well as that of those who had realized and sought for peaceful redress from grievances, and when they culminated in war adhered to their old flag, indiscriminately, as absolutely indefensible ; to apply to all of them the epithet “ Tory,” as equivalent to “ Traitor,” and to forget that the even worse detested “ Hessian ” was only an involuntary German soldier in jackboots and bearded, then unusual in America, whose sword was again sold under treaty obligations, by his Hereditary Prince to a kinsman, King George III, in that war. We have not cared to recognize his hostility to us as compulsory, his presence that of the involuntary victim of an obnoxious custom in the old World, and that he was of the same race—and if an officer, of its educated and then privileged class—famed from the period of Charlemagne in the battle fields of the world, for their achievements, among the more recent of which we can now recall their instrumentality—including the death of two Princes of Brunswick—in the earlier conflicts, in the overthrow of two Emperors of the Bonaparte dynasty, and its suppression.

The Tory was not allowed to remain after the Revolution had succeeded, to submit to the result of what he had from habit and education rejected, when pressed upon him by arms.

It would seem to be improper, after the expiration of a century, to question the action of the brave men—carefully selected to represent the popular sentiment, and clearly influenced by more than usual intelligence—as to their policy in the smallest detail, in securing our national existence, or to believe that they could have acted in this important particular, without

a better knowledge than we can even yet appreciate, of their position and of their necessities.

We know that our country was exhausted in men and means when the contest ended,¹⁵ that the British lion had retreated

¹⁵ The following copied from a signed duplicate original, shows the necessity of the government, the relative ability of the States, and the changes in their subsequent progress.

BY THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

September 4, 1782.

On the report of a General Committee, consisting of a member from each state,

Resolved, That one million two hundred thousand dollars has been quoaded on the States as absolutely and immediately necessary for payment of the interest on the public debt; and that it be recommended to the Legislatures of the respective States, to lay such taxes as shall appear to them most proper and effectual for immediately raising their quota of the above sum.

Resolved, That the money so raised in each State, shall be applied towards paying the interest due on certificates issued from the loan office of each State, and other liquidated debts of the United States contracted therein, before any part thereof shall be paid into the public treasury.

Ordered, That the foregoing Resolutions be referred to the Grand Committee, to assess and report the quota of each State.

Sept. 10, 1782.

On the report of the Grand Committee :

Resolved, That \$1,200,000 to be raised for the payment of the interest of the domestic debt of the United States, be appropriated to the several States, according to the following quotas, viz :

New Hampshire,	\$48,000
Massachusetts,	192,000
Rhode Island,	28,800
Connecticut,	133,200
New York,	54,000
New Jersey,	66,000
Pennsylvania,	180,000
Delaware,	16,800
Maryland,	132,000
Virginia.	174,000
North Carolina,	88,800
South Carolina,	72,000
Georgia,	14,400

\$1,200,000

(Signed),

CHAS. THOMPSON,
Secretary.

grimly, still holding his Canadian territory as a lair, which could be used after the repose he also needed, as a base for the concentration of another effort, perhaps including the Loyalists and exchanged Hessian prisoners. That the private contributions made in England to aid the government, after the capture of Burgoyne, might be renewed and concert increased, after the surrender of Cornwallis, inspired by national chagrin. They perhaps felt that a Preliminary Peace wrung from a mortified enemy, was really a truce, depending on England's adjustment of her difficulties with France. That the forces of that ally, had hurried the attack upon Yorktown, to seek new laurels in the West Indies, and might never return, and that even Definitive Treaties had often been broken.

Even after that Peace, they probably doubted its continuance — as was justified by the war of 1812¹⁶ — and from these considerations, looked upon the continued presence of the Tory element as likely to prove a lasting danger.

A reference to "Sabine's Loyalists" will readily show, in the records of many of them in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, that they were largely men of military experience¹⁷ and the ques-

¹⁶ In his "Campaigns of the War of 1812 and 15," recently published, General Cullum — who will be remembered by posterity for his life labor in recording the military records of all of the graduates of the military academy — throws much light on a dark subject. Intending to do justice to the officers of his own — the Engineer corps, he has apparently afforded the best account of the strategic failure of a war gallantly fought in the field, but so disgracefully managed in the Bureau, as to leave an impression, in many competent minds, that it was intended to be a failure, to avoid the annexation of Canada, then by reason of the scarcity of British Troops and other circumstances apparently possible.

¹⁷ The "Letters from the Marquis de Montcalm, Governor General of Canada, &c.," published by Almon, in London, in 1777, in the heat of the controversy — and at once declared, even in Parliament, to contain predictions manufactured after the results were verified — are still a subject of discussed authenticity, although mainly settled by recent developments by Francis Parkman and others, to have been simulated. At least they appear to contain a valuable cotemporary view of the condition of the then Colonies, the material of their population, and the probability of their speedily turning their arms against their mother country, when the danger of the French as a hostile neighbor was removed.

tion for the victors to pass upon, was whether a cordial acceptance of the result of their recent overthrow could be relied upon, and a new allegiance could divest them of their old attachment or entirely subordinate them to the impressions and duties, necessary to reliable citizenship.

It has been claimed, that as they included in their number many large holders of property, and that its forfeiture — on which new fortunes were speedily founded — the release of debts and arrears before the war, to, and the cancelling of contracts with them, were also used as influences against an amnesty on even severe conditions,¹⁸ such as had usually then been extended to the Indians, after their conquest, by most of the colonies.

It was said by Addison, that “a man of merit in a different principle, is like an object seen in two different mediums, that appears crooked and broken, however straight and entire it may be in itself. For this reason there is scarcely *a person of figure* in England, who does not go by two contrary characters, as opposite to one another as light and darkness.”

¹⁸ The severity of an indiscriminate confiscation was early recognized. In the preliminary Treaty of Peace, formulated at Versailles on the 20th of January, 1783, negotiated by Adams, Franklin, Jay and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States — all illustrious citizens and principally foreign ministers — the only representative of Great Britain was Richard Oswald, a merchant of London, selected alone to represent her, without the ceremony attending happier negotiations and probably with a view to his acceptability to those he was to meet, as having lately bailed Mr. Laurens from the Tower when captured at sea, on his way to his Mission at the Hague. By that Treaty, condensed in nine brief stipulations, in Article v, “It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts, in the possession of his Majesty’s arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons, of any other description, shall have free liberty to go into any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavors to obtain the restitution of each of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states

It may be noticed that the persons here incidentally alluded to, may be mostly classed as persons of figure at the period and that Addison's impression was as applicable to the colonies as to the mother country. The customs of the one had been early introduced into the other, in the habits of life, and the adoption of many of the ideas and principles which governed at home.

The acquisition of land has been as we know, from the earliest period one of the most marked instincts of man. None knew better than the settlers the traditional influence attending land secured by entail, as the basis of the perpetuation of families at home, and many younger sons and connections of such privileged owners were then amongst the first comers. Nor were they slow after their arrival in seeking for similar endowments. A vast area of readily productive land, forests, fisheries and mines, lay open to new colonists; and facile governors, sent generally by favor, to better their estates — at least before dissensions demanded more efficient selections — were ready to promote grants of crown lands, and even manors with some

a reconsideration and revision of the acts and laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with the spirit of conciliation, which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights and properties of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of said lands or properties, since the confiscation. And it is agreed, That all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no legal impediment in the prosecution of their just rights." It was also agreed by Article vi. "That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for, or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war, and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charge at the time of the ratification of the Treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecution so commenced be discontinued."

feudal privileges, induced by the eking out of a small salary by the considerable fees attending the entries, and often,—as existing written evidence proves—by a concealed interest with the grantee. To the foundation of such granted or purchased estates followed their division and use by tenants, or distribution by sale. There were many monopolies, similarly procured, soon also available as sources of wealth and as the crops and productions of the land, the mines, the timber, the naval stores, and the fisheries increased, and their development and control by merchants and shippers accumulated wealth, there followed naturally the introduction of every luxury and appliance, custom and habit of life, used by the privileged class in the mother country.

The military and civil service brought out many cadets of English families, to find a permanent home by settlement or marriage. As England was politically an aristocracy, the colonies as a part of it, imitated its habits and fostered its restrictions. It has been claimed that with many who had acquired the convexity of affluence, and aspired to position, the exclusion from the higher offices, and the precedence on a state occasion, accorded to some stripling subaltern in a crimson coat, was a grievance harder to be borne than taxation. With prosperity and wealth came the desire for education, and that cultivation which should confer on their children some of the advantages which they had seen accorded, to the scions of those privileged families at home.

The schools of Eton and Harrow, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were filled with young Americans, who, while studying the humanities, were naturally comparing the

political privileges which surrounded them, with those of their home.

Those in London, during the period of the dissensions referred to, watched the progress of events in the galleries of Parliament and studied statesmanship there, often with their profession in the purlieus of the Temple and the Inns of Court, both indispensable in the coming events in that distant home. Probably in their social intercourse they felt the sense of inferiority as colonists, impressed upon them by the home-born young Britons, ever conscious of national and often of personal superiority — with whom they were associated, and already dreamed of political and social equality.¹⁹

Their home constituency, combining a large element of veterans taught to wield arms in the border wars, conscious of their power; and of those devoted to the pursuits of peace, conceded in the selection for such offices as were left to their choice, the claims of superior education and larger opportunity for the study of public affairs; for in those days, the place sought the man as generally as in the present, men seek the place. As an example, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., and Arthur Middleton, all early movers for redress from grievances, members from South Carolina of the early Congresses, and its Signers of the Declaration,

¹⁹ An amusing instance of the social line then drawn, is given by Col. Stone. When William, an half breed — supposed to be Sir William's boy, and an associate of young Brant at Dr. Wheelock's school, was directed by his instructor's son to saddle a horse, he refused, saying *he was not a Gentleman*. When asked to define what a gentleman was, he replied, "a person who keeps race horses and drinks Madeira wine, and that is what neither you nor your father do." It is not probable that this impression originated with the boy, but it suggests whether the keeping of too many race horses, and the drinking of too much Madeira, may not have been one of the causes of the distinction he describes finding its decadence in the progress of events and the development of new elements of citizenship, rapidly dividing property and power with these earlier comers.

were, with Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, John Laurens and many others early in the field from that, and a large number who served in both from other Colonies — recently educated in England.

The Congress that declared the country free, which was probably as representative of the ability of the American people as any that succeeded it, was, according to the custom of the day, composed of such “men of figure” in the colonies as the people at the time, considered best suited to protect their common interest. The Clergy, Lawyers, Doctors, Judges, Magistrates, Planters and prosperous Merchants and Manufacturers were mainly its material; there was an entire absence of those who devoted themselves to politics or agitation professionally.

Perhaps the difference of sentiment, which soon divided the people in arms, may be illustrated by hastily referring to the career of one member of that celebrated body, who, while occupying in many particulars the same position as the Johnsons, was overwhelmed and mainly forgotten in the ruin he brought upon himself, in the honest assertion of antipodal convictions.

Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, would appear to have been symmetrically, in every relation, such a “person of figure.” Born at Princeton, in 1730, on the extended estate of his fathers, carefully educated as his position justified, and his natural abilities made easy, he graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1748, under the tutelage of President Burr. When fitted by professional training, he readily asserted his position, as one of the ablest of a distinguished bar. The cultivation of his mind, is said to have kept pace with that of a graceful and attractive person, physically fitted for endurance and superiority in all

manly enterprises. While doing the honors of his stately home, with a broad hospitality and benevolence, aided by a wife to whom he was devoted, he had adorned it with many objects of interest, including one of the finest libraries in the colonies.

He combined an interest in all that affected the public, with an appreciation of every social pleasure, uniting in the gayeties of the little Viceregal Court of his Governor, Sir William Franklin,²⁰ while already considering the grievances charged against his delegated action. He is claimed by his honorable character, and sympathetic manners, to have earned the appreciation of all. Devoting his leisure to the improvement of his mind, body and estate, on the latter he bred the choicest horses and cattle, he was celebrated for his mount as well as for his seat, for his skill as a marksman, and in such

²⁰ Governor Franklin was a protege of Lord Bute, by whose influence and that of his father — when courted by the administration — he was created Governor of New Jersey without any marked service above that of a captain in the French War. On his release he returned to Europe. His more memorable father who could control lightning failed in influencing the loyalty of his son.

In many particulars there was a similarity between the position and treatment of Governor Franklin and Sir John Johnson in this year. The following letter is copied from the original and shows the action of Congress.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 24, 1776.*

GENTLEMEN: Your Favor respecting the proper measures to be taken with your late Governor, William Franklyn, Esq., came to Hand on Saturday the 22d inst. But as the Congress did not sit on that Day I could not lay it before them till Monday. I now do myself the Honour of enclosing to you the Resolve of Congress which they have this day passed with Regard to the Treatment of him. You will therefore perceive the Congress have directed him to be sent to Connecticut under a guard. I shall write to Gov. Trumbull to treat him as a Prisoner should he refuse to give his Parole in Writing.

I have the Honour to be Gentlemen your most
obed't and very humble serv't.

JOHN HANCOCK,
Presid't.

The other resolves herewith transmitted, are of such a Nature that no arguments are necessary to enforce them. You will be pleased to attend to them as soon as possible.

Hon'ble Convention of New Jersey.

athletic sports as are now supplemented by polo, lawn tennis, boating and ball matches, in which pleasure is realized through exertion. Such pursuits and pastimes of his lesser existence, were with him only the oil applied to the machinery of an earnest life !

In 1766, he “made his tour,” as was customary then as now, spending two years in England, cultivating the acquaintance of public men to whom his access was easy, obtaining an audience by the young King, who graciously received him, and communing with some leaders, with whom he was destined to hold early intercourse, and to whom he, even then, probably imparted his growing apprehensions. In an unpublished letter, written in London in that year to his wife — one of the few relics of his then impending ruin, which survive in the hands of his family, and which Dr. Emmet thoughtfully directed to be fac-similed — he says, “I have had a perfect state of health since I left you, blessed be God Almighty, and let me tell you that all the Elegance and Grandeur I have yet seen in these Kingdoms, in different families where I have been received, serves but to increase the pleasure I have for some years enjoyed in my Domestick connections. I see not a sensible, obliging, tender wife, but the Image of my dear Emelia, is full in view. I see not a haughty ignorant imperious dame, but I rejoice that the partner of my life is so much her opposite. But why need I talk so gallantly ? You knew me long ago, as well as you would should I write a volume on this endearing topic.”

The fitness of a man so constituted and prepared for public usefulness, was not then long overlooked. Returning in 1768, he was named for a seat in the Council of the colony—

at the time an honored place, and, in 1774, elevated to the Supreme Bench, acquitting himself with credit in each position. When he saw the political clouds which he had carefully watched, about to break, he had prepared himself by study of precedents, and communion with wise men, for the result, and made every effort to avert it. The annexed appeal, copied from the original draft — written with a firm and graceful chirography, but in ink as faded by time as any general memory of his service — expressing the result of such conclusion in dignified and manly terms, and showing by its impersonal form, the writer's appreciation of the etiquette, which prevented a direct interference with public affairs beyond his control — was submitted to the minister without concealment of authorship or the avoidance of responsibility, by the hand of a friend.²¹

²¹ AN EXPEDIENT FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE AMERICAN DISPUTES humbly submitted ("offered" erased) to the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, by an American.

The State of American Affairs is so badly alarming at this time, that any real friend to the British Empire, ought to suggest every probable expedient that occurs to him, for the accommodation of the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the Colonies — to give the following suggestions their due weight, it must be premised— 1st. That the several North American Colonies, from New Hampshire to South Carolina inclusive, *are able to furnish 500,000 fighting men; who are in general as fit for service as the English Militia, and many of them much more so, having been in active service in the last war.* 2nd. That the great body of the people of these several Colonies are now (even to the astonishment of many Colonists themselves) *perfectly united in a determinate opposition to the authority of the British Parliament as to all internal Taxation.* 3d. That there is not the least remaining doubt, if the British Government should proceed to put the late Acts of Parliament, respecting the Massachusetts Bay (or any other Acts which involve the Idea of an absolute uncontrollable power in the British Parliament over the Colonies); into execution, by force, but that the said Colonies *would unite by attempting to repel, force by force.* To which may be added, what is as well or perhaps better known in Great Britain than in America, to wit: 4th. That the *certain* consequences of this unnatural war will be dreadful to both Great Britain and America, and the *probable* effects thereof may be fatal to the whole British Empire. Matters standing thus and the three first propositions above premised being founded upon the most indubitable facts (of which the writer of this from his general acquaintance with America, is perhaps as competent a

Such remonstrances, made in and out of Parliament by the friends of America, desirous of preserving with honor its early institutions, failed to attract attention, and the storm of opposition to them finally burst. Stockton had already selected his course and indifferent to office, personal exemption, or private

judge as any man whatever), it is humbly proposed to his Majesty's Ministers whether it would not be proper, 1st. That a royal Instruction be immediately obtained and sent over to the several Governors of the North American Colonies requesting them forthwith to recommend it to their several Assemblies to pass, and to give their own assent to an Act which may be passed by the Legislatures of several Provinces, comprising certain *Commissioners therein to be named to repair to England*, with power to confer with his Majesty's Ministers, or with Commissioners to be appointed by Parliament, respecting the grand points in dispute between Great Britain and America, and finally to determine thereupon. 2nd. That to prevent all disputes in future, the said American Commissioners be also empowered to confer and agree with the British Commissioners respecting the *future Government and regulation of the Colonies*, either by framing one general system of Government for all the Colonies on the Continent similar to the British, or by making some material alteration in the present mode of Provincial Government. *In either of which systems, some effectual provision may be made for the adequate support of the American Government by the Americans themselves*, and also for the payment of all such sums of money as may become due from America to Great Britain for the assistance of her Fleets and Army. These determinations of the said Commissioners to be subjected nevertheless, to such alteration as the wisdom of his Majesty and his Parliament of Great Britain may make therein, and as shall be agreed to by the several Provincial Legislatures. 3d. That upon such instructions being given to the several Governors, his Majesty to be advised in his royal clemency, to recommend it to his Parliament to *suspend the operation of the Boston Port Acts*, while the determination of the said Commissioners should be had. The author of the above hints offers them with all humility, and with great diffidence of his own ability on so great and national a question. *But some expedient must be immediately fallen upon, or we shall be involved in a Civil War, the most obstinate, awful and tremendous that perhaps ever occurred since the Creation of the World.* He will esteem it a signal blessing of Divine Providence conferred upon him, if any one idea he hath suggested may be of any use at this *dreadful crisis*. And if otherwise, he will at least be able to comfort himself with the uprightness of his intentions in this feeble attempt, and with the assurance that he can do no harm, either to himself or any other person.

December 12, 1774.

Endorsed by the writer — on this the corrected draught — “Hints transmitted to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for America, through the hands of Samuel Smith, Esq., of London, Merchant.”

THIS APPEAL, and many similar ones we know, were made in vain to a government impressed by unwise counsels, and a King who declared “That the Americans meant only to amuse by vague expressions of attachment and the strongest professions

interest, accepted a seat in the *then* rebel Congress. While the Declaration of Independence was being considered, he listened in silence, and with profound attention to the debate, but with a grave face and a sad heart,²² when under later usages, a member who had determined to risk his life for the benefit of his "constituency," might have suggested some trifling amendment, to remind them at once of his presence at an important crisis, and the superior grasp of his intellect to that of the illustrious committee who reported it. It has been suggested that the Congress of 1776, was limited in its membership to men whose merit had been recognized in the administration of their own private interests and duties, a valued experience to those assuming a public trust. Many of them had shown this also in the colonial assemblies, where the honor had compensated for the expense, beyond the trifling allowance. When the proper moment arrived he signed it, accepted it as the chart by which he was fated to sail to his personal shipwreck, overwhelmed while aiding to secure the privileges we enjoy.

In devoting himself to the cause, he declined the honors offered to him, to compensate for those he had sacrificed. On a tie vote, between himself and William Livingston — another devoted and able patriot — on the first election for governor, he declined further contest with so worthy a man, and also refused the Chief Justiceship, probably won by his magnanimity. With

of loyalty, while they were preparing for a general revolt, for the purpose of establishing an independent Empire." At least, the policy suggested by Mr. Stockton had some influence at home, for on the first day of the following September, Richard Penn and Arthur Lee delivered to Lord Dartmouth a petition from Congress to the King embodying the above views and probably borrowed from them, and were informed that NO ANSWER WOULD BE GIVEN.

²² Sanderson's Signers.

his colleague Clymer, he visited the camp of the Northern army, and consulted with the gallant Schuyler, as to details already tending there to a great triumph. Soon, the ravages of war reached and destroyed that happy home, his family was driven into exile, his lands were laid waste, and his favorite horses appropriated by the raiders. Then, to complete his misfortunes, when captured by them, he was carried into New York, and from his prominent position as a recent King's officer, "ignominiously thrown into a common jail," and confined with such cruelty that when exchanged, upon the special remonstrances of Congress, conveyed by Washington, his shattered health unfitted him for further usefulness, and a lingering life of suffering was the final fulfillment of his remarkable promise, which terminated on the twenty-eighth of February, 1781, too soon to know of the effect of the artillery at Yorktown, in consummating the freedom for which, after exhorting his children to remember that "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," he had died a martyr. In many countries such service would be recorded by monuments "more lasting than brass," and his "fetê day" remembered and celebrated; in the engrossing present of what he aided to create, is it not doubtful if his name is known to all of those even in his native State, where some evidently concentrate in themselves and in their surroundings, the beginning and end of all interest in the perpetuation of their existence as freemen. Is it not equally so, if he were living, whether those services would command a sufficient vote of appreciation to return him to Congress, if vigorously opposed by some political organization or machine, supported by the now common outlay.

But our national existence appears largely due to the folly of its rulers, even more than to the resistance of the colonies. When relieved of a hostile neighbor by the conquest of Canada, they needed no longer the protecting assistance of the parent government. The continuous border warfare with the French then ended, and also that with all of the Indians, surrounding the upper lakes, in the successful defence of Detroit and the defeat of Pontiac. During the continuance of these wars, they had been compelled to keep an average of 25,000 troops under arms, and had made a valuable expenditure of thirty thousand lives. They claimed a large balance, some £350,000 for outlays. A vote of £200,000 by Parliament on the recommendation of George III at once on his accession, while admitting the necessity for such assistance, seems inconsistent with a claim soon after made for a revenue of £100,000 by direct taxation. In 1775 the debt of Great Britain was estimated at three hundred millions and its interest charges in 1776, £4,800,000 of which £19,000 was claimed as for the expenses of the first year of the war.

There had been dissensions between the Governors and the Assemblies, and a successful resistance to the foreign taxes on sugar and molasses. Writs of assistance ordering the collection, had been reluctantly granted, and little used. An uncomfortable relation had grown up between the colonies, now a prosperous and warlike people, and their mother country. Sir Robert Walpole²³ had years before divined that their direct taxation was

²³ Doubtless their clandestine trade with the Spanish Colonies, exporting British manufactures in exchange for specie, made stamps more objectionable, but far seeing Walpole claimed, that of every £500,000 so gained by them, one-half would be expended in England. Their friends throughout persistently sustained them in Parliament. Chatham, Rockingham, Newcastle, Camden and Conway amongst the earliest, with such success, that when partially to aid the East India Company, three pence a pound on tea was, on motion of Lord North alone persisted in, — on the 5th of March, 1770 — Captain Preston had on that day, fired on the "Boston Mob," and the concession came too late.

After Our hearty Commendations — It having pleased
 Almighty God to take to His Mercy, out of this troublesome
 Life Our late Sovereign Lord King George the second of
 blessed ^{and glorious} Memory, and thereupon His Royal Majesty
 King George the third being here proclaimed. We have
 thought fit to signify the same unto You, with direction,
 that You do with the Assistance of the Council and —
 other Principal * * * * * Inhabitants of New
 York forthwith Proclaim His most sacred Majesty
 King George the third according to the Form here —
 inclosed, with the Solemnities and Ceremonies requisite
 on the like occasions — And You are likewise to Publish
 and Proclaim a Proclamation for continuing the
 Offices in His Majestys Plantations till His Majestys
 pleasure shall be further signified, which Proclamation
 will be transmitted to you by the Lords Commissioners
 for Trade and Plantations — And so not doubting of
 Your ready compliance herein — We bid You heartily
 farewell From the Council Chamber at St. James House
 this thirteenth day of October 1760

Your Loving Friends

Thos. Cant.

Granville P.

Famplatey

Dentigh

Dunbar

Gower

Cornwallis

31st October 1760

The Lords of the Privy
 Council their Orders
 for proclaiming King
 George the third

1761 Jan. 16. Headings and
 Part of the Proclamation
 used by Anti. Gov. the
 1st Proclamation referred to
 at the 1st and at the 2nd
 Hall.

John B. [Signature]

To the Commander in Chief of New York.

to "disturb a hornets' nest," and left it as he said—as many political questions are bequeathed—"to those who should come after him, who had more courage than himself;" and the judicious Pitt, when it was suggested as a source of needed revenue, expressed his unwillingness to "burn his fingers with an American Tax." What the course of events would have been, if Frederick, Prince of Wales, had lived to succeed his father, is a subject for conjecture. He appears to have been controlled by generous impulses, and advanced ideas of government, was frank and ingenuous in his carriage, while doubtless a subject for "calculation" or at least observation as to his future, as an heir apparent of mature years is apt to be. It was asserted that he favored dividing the control of his father's Whig advisors—representing the ruling party since the Protestant succession—and admitting the long neglected Tory element to share it, and to neutralize the influence of both, by subordinating every element to the development, in his expected reign—of Bolingbroke's ideal government, ruled by a "*Patriot King*." Dying in his father's lifetime, at the age of forty-four, his son succeeded directly on the decease of his grandfather on the 26th of October, 1760, at the age of twenty-two, having been the first of his family born on British soil.

The accession of George III²⁴ to the throne *when proclaimed throughout his dominions and colonies*, was received every where

²⁴ It was said of him at that time "though his character was far from yet being perfectly developed, a very strong and apparently just partiality predominated in his favor. During the late reign he had uniformly abstained from all public interference in the affairs of government. His manners were in the highest degree decorous, his words unblemished, and his personal accomplishments corresponded with the elevation of his rank and station. All appearances seemed to augur a reign of uninterrupted glory and felicity, and the regret which the nation felt at the sudden demise of the good old King, was immediately absorbed in the transports of joy excited by the auspicious commencement of the reign of the young Monarch who

with demonstrations of hope and joy. The people mainly at last, attached to his family, augured from his character and youth, a relief from every existing complication. Their grievances and prayers for redress were early addressed to the new monarch, and steadily pressed on his attention, with increasing emphasis. The hand of his mother—a Princess who was known by the populace as “The Witch,” and doubtless held herself to be capable and executive—seems to have shaped his destiny as woman has often influenced the destinies of mankind. His father, apparently no mean judge of character, speaking of John Stewart, Earl of Bute, whom he had first seen at the Duchess of Queensbury’s fete, acting as “Lothario” in the “Fair Penitent,” apparently soon as an intimate at Leicester House, epigrammatically described him as “a fine showy man who would make an excellent ambassador in any court, where there was no business” (Beeton’s Universal Biography), and all his

had very lately attained the age of complete majority; being born June 4, 1738.” *Belsham’s Memoirs of George III.*

The late Dean Stanley, in his “Memorials of Westminster Abbey,” recalls some details of the coronation of George III, that Archbishop Secker who officiated, had baptized, confirmed and married, the King. That the princely style in which the young King seated himself after the ceremony, attracted general notice.” “No actor in the character of Pyrrhus, in the ‘Distrest Mother,’” says Bishop Newton, who was present, “not even Booth himself, ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity.” That the most interesting peculiarity of the coronation was the unnoticed attendance of the rival to the throne, Prince Charles Edward” (the Pretender, then in London, under the name of Mr. Brown). “I asked my Lord Marshal,” says David Hume, “the reason for this strange fact.” “Ay,” says he, “a gentleman told me so, who saw him there, and whispered in his ear, ‘Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here.’” “It was curiosity that led me,” said the other, “but I assure you,” added he, “that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence, is the man I envy least.” Could he have realized what that rival would soon suffer from the losses here treated of, he would not have envied him the more, on that day that he inherited those troubles, with the preferment.

The signature of Archbishop Secker, who aided and endowed Episcopal churches in America, and also officiated at the coronation of Lord Granville, Dunk, Earl of Halifax, and others of the Lords of Council annexed to the order for his proclamation in New York, like that of Goldsboro Banyer, the then Deputy Secretary, may be recalled in connection with our early history.

torians appear to agree in failing to approve of the man. He was, says Belsham — apparently an impartial writer — “a nobleman haughty in his manners, contracted in his capacity, despotic in his sentiments, and mysterious in his conduct, who was successfully insinuating himself into the confidence of the Princess of Wales, and of her son.” Only Sunday intervened between the old King’s death, and his taking his oath as a Privy Counsellor, and he at once supplanted his daughter, Princess Amelia, in the Rangership of Richmond Park.²⁵ As the Mentor of the Prince he became a rapid meteor, shooting upward from place to place, from that position to Secretary of State, then to first Lord of the Treasury, and ruler of the Ministry of the Nation, of the Princess Dowager, and of his Sovereign. The latter had learned to thoroughly accept his infallibility and to adopt his ideas, which culminated in his misfortunes, and loss of colonies and intellect. Lord Bute drove from the counsels of his well intending master, all other advisers, including those apparently essential to his prosperity. Some refused to serve as his colleagues, others were supplanted in securing place and emolument for himself and his creatures. While in thus depriving America of friends in the Council, familiar with their rights and necessities, he concentrated power in himself. It is just to say, that he pressed the war against the Allies on the continent, with vigorous success, on sea and land, bringing them to their knees, and negotiating the Peace of Fontainebleau in November, 1762, with France, Spain and Portugal, by which Canada and all Louisiana east of Mississippi was finally ceded, by France; East and West Florida and all their territory east and south-east of that river, by Spain. In the haste with which he availed himself of these successes, securing the results which made

²⁵ Possibly to please her sister-in-law.

the "Georgian Era" memorable, he immensely increased the area of the colonies. He neglected to provide any indemnity for Prussia as a faithful ally, from her position liable to future retaliation, and won those caustic, but just criticisms with which that Frederick, who was *great* with both pen and sword — after having protected his then exposed condition by a treaty with Russia and Sweden, has embalmed his memory in his *Œuvres du Roi de Prusse*. This, and the forcing through with great difficulty, even sustained by the whole power of the Government, of the "Cider Bill," involving a direct tax repugnant to the whole people, especially to the "Country Party," and the agricultural interests, and so establishing a precedent for those which cost the recent acquisitions in America, and their base, were the crowning results of a power which he suddenly resigned, when—as he admitted "single in a Cabinet of his own creating, with no soul in the House of Lords to support him, but two Peers." All of this unwise exercise of authority appears to have originated in the Princess Dowager's rejection, of what the world have since united in approving, as the wise judgment of her husband, and allowing the needy schemer he distrusted, the unrestricted control of that of his son, particularly on this to him, fatal question of direct taxation.

William Henry Drayton — Chief Justice of South Carolina — who was in the habit of engrafting ardent precepts of patriotism with those of law, in his charges to the grand jury and also of contributing his salary to their promotion,²⁶ expressed the universal sense of the Colonies in one of these delivered on the 15th of October, 1776.

"Never were a people more wrapped up in a King than the Americans were in George III in 1763. They revered

²⁶ He also died in service, a member of Congress at Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1779.

and obeyed the British Government because it protected them, they fondly called Great Britain *home*, but from that time her counsels took a ruinous turn ; ceasing to protect they sought to ruin America, the Stamp Act, Declaratory law and duties upon Tea and other articles, at once proclaimed the injustice, and announced to Americans that they had but little room for hope, infinite space for fear. In vain they petitioned for redress."

But England needed money ; and the means as proposed to the King, by Bute, seemed to him adequate and proper. In an effort to add to her revenue the £100,000, Mr. Grenville²⁷ his successor as first Commissioner of the Treasury, proposed to collect it by the Stamp Act in 1763, and so partially reimburse her outlay in the Seven Years' War, which had in part originated in the defence of her Colonies. In this she thoroughly aroused them, already exasperated, to a forcible resistance, so significant as to strengthen the hands of its opponents in Parliament sufficiently to effect the repeal of that already obsolete act.

Even then there was a chance for reconciliation, for which the Colonies still steadily petitioned and labored through their agents and friends. But the fumes of the "Cider Bill" had influenced the royal head, he persevered in his policy, and the brilliant Charles Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer,

²⁷ In the course of the debate on the Cider Bill, Mr. Grenville, annoyed by Mr. Pitt's ridicule of its subject, replied, "The Right Honorable Gentleman complains of the hardship of this Tax ; why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax instead of it ?" repeating two or three times emphatically, "Tell me *where* you can lay another tax." Mr. Pitt thus unseasonably appealed to, replied in a musical tone, in the words of a favorite air, "Gentle Shepherd tell me where," which, amused the House and fixed the soubrequet on Mr. Grenville. Mr. Belsham, who related it in 1795, did not view it even then as wholly a joke. "Little certainly," says he, "did this minister imagine how fertile would be the invention of his successors, or how thoroughly subdued by time and custom the spirits of the people." This tax, however, was also soon obsolete from *non usor*.

four years later essayed to increase the still insufficient revenue, by the substitution of a more remunerative duty upon tea, glass, paper and painters' colors, under the impression that the form and not the substance of the taxation was unpalatable, but even when limited to tea alone, its attempted enforcement was, as we know, the immediate cause of the loss of her Colonies, at least at that time.

It was a small beginning to a mighty result, the spark that caused a great conflagration, in which, in spite of the efforts of Lord North, into whose hands and those of Lord George Germain,—whom Belsham emphasizes as “so famous, or rather infamous, under his former appellation of Lord George Sackville,”—after several intermediate unsuccessful ministries it fell, to make the final efforts to extinguish it by conciliation, too long delayed, or by force; and so to officiate, in the final dismemberment of a portion of Great Britain's dominions, now vastly larger and greater, than the whole at that period. The Tory interests were then remorselessly burned.

The few details of public outlay referred to in these old papers, only valuable here as connected with the subject, are, it will be seen, trifling items of the then immense expenditure of the British Government in that fruitless struggle for a small additional Revenue, and additions to her indebtedness always very great, but easily carried in ordinary times by the appreciation of her Funded Debt, as a security by the world. From these fragments, we can discern the continued confidence of the Government in Sir John Johnson, after the military results elsewhere referred to, and that he was entrusted with the care and control of his former allies and neighbors, apparently as the superior of Col. Guy Johnson, on whom the Superintendency

devolved at the decease of Sir William, probably so arranged in order to allow him to devote his uninterrupted attention to the care of an estate, then only second to that of Penn's in size, and to enjoy it as a landed gentleman. Perhaps, as a clear judge of character in ordinary cases, he distrusted the qualities of his son to assume the Superintendency; an impression which seems oftener to prevail with an elderly man, than that of a too high appreciation of the ability of any apparent successor. In the event, fate did not free him from the cares from which his father may have hoped to relieve him, after having himself long borne their weight.

It may be noticed that the following order providing for the relief of several corps of Loyalists belonging to General Burgoyne's Army, and other Refugees, deducts the value of provisions, issued to "said Corps of Royalists and others, between 25th October, 1777" — three months after the conclusion of the foregoing Diary — "and 24th April, 1778," and probably includes the troops it treats of, as then still under command.

Guy Carleton, Knight of the Bath, General and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's Forces in the Province of Quebec and frontiers thereof,

You are hereby directed and required to pay or cause to be paid to Sir John Johnson, Bart., or to his assigns, the sum of six thousand four hundred and sixty seven pounds, eleven shillings and six pence, sterling dollars at four shillings and eight pence each, being the allowance made for the present relief of several corps of Royalists, belonging to General Burgoyne's army, and sundry other persons who have taken refuge in this Province from the Rebellious Colonies, as per annexed accounts. You will also deduct the sum of one thousand and twenty-four pounds, six shillings and eight pence sterling, being the amount of provisions issued to the said corps of Royalists and others, between 25th October, 1777, and 24th April, 1778.

And this, with the acquittances of the said Sir John Johnson, Bt., or his assigns, shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

Given under my hand, at Quebec, this 29th of April, 1778.

GUY CARLETON.²⁸

To John Powell, Esq.,
Dy. Paymaster General,
His Majesty's forces at Quebec.

This appointment — dated five months after the virtual close of the war at Yorktown, although eight before the nego-

²⁸ The last English commander in-chief in her lost colonies. By escaping from captivity at Montreal in 1775, passing at night, with muffled oars, through his adversaries' forces, throwing himself into Quebec, and rallying its feeble garrison, he saved the city and deprived the adventurous Montgomery of his victory. The jealousy of Lord George Germaine is said to have confined his service to Canada, and deprived him of the command of the expedition led by Burgoyne. His loyal endurance of this slight, and his cordial assistance with the favorite of the hour, won for him Burgoyne's recorded appreciation. General Burgoyne was apparently a man of ability, and had been a successful soldier in Portugal. He was a social celebrity also, and owed his progress to family influence. His devotion to pleasure is charged to have delayed him — while in fact probably waiting for the promised coöperation of General Howe — when celerity of movement appears to have offered the only chance for either advance or escape.

It has also been claimed, mainly by those not present, that his delay near Fort Edward, to procure horses for a very heavy artillery and train, increased the need of provisions, all of which the disasters of the detachments on his flanks at Fort Stanwix and Bennington, prevented his securing, while they crippled an originally small force, to swing so far from its base. It was also asserted, that he should have held Fort Edward, prepared to advance when he had satisfactory intelligence from below, or even to retreat to Canada; an apparent answer would be, that he had but five days provisions when he yielded; inconsiderable for a siege and had no knowledge of Clinton's small supplies, sent to Albany. That the whole country encouraged by those disasters, was rising, and troops being hurried forward, while his own were daily reduced; and that he was in effect captured before he surrendered. It was only at the end of a century, that General Howe's failure to advance to his aid was accounted for, by an explanation, written at the time by Lord Shelburne, and published by his appreciative grandson, in his life in 1875, by which it appears that Lord George Germaine, also a man of pleasure, being engaged to dine in the country, signed the orders for Burgoyne, but those for Gen. Howe requiring to be rewritten, were to be sent to him, for his signature there. The packet unexpectedly sailed with only the former, and so produced the complication, while the latter were found pigeon holed in the office of that valuable public servant, years afterwards, and so America gained a battle only second in value from its results. This blunder, as many other explanations just to that officer, and perhaps the best conception of the good and

tiation of the Preliminary Peace — creating him Superintendent General of all Indians at Quebec and the frontier Provinces, including his old neighbors four of the Six Nations — might imply that his hopes as a soldier had ended, with those for the restoration of his inherited domain. The evidence however exists of his continued interests in the differences with the Indians, still occupying the territory claimed by the United States, proving his later hostility.

SIR :

WHITE HALL, 18 March, 1782.

The King has been graciously pleased to appoint you Superintendent General, and Inspector General of the Six Nations of Indians and their Confederates and also of the

evil in his character, have also been afforded to readers by the daughters of a more fortunate General, his son Sir John Burgoyne, who are now residing in Hampton Court, in the "Political and Military Sketches" published by their inspiration, by Mr. Fonblanque in 1876. These, with the "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham," edited by Lord Albemarle in 1852, "The correspondence of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chatham," "The Evelyn's in America," contributed by J. D. Scull, Oxford, 1881, Judge Jones' "History of New York in the Revolution," and the Gates papers, contributed by Dr. T. A. Emmett to the "Magazine of American History," are all among the recent proofs of the mellowing influence of Time upon History.

There appear to be many coincidences in the career of Burgoyne and that of Gates, identified as they were in service and in eventual destiny. Both types of the conventional gentleman, brilliant and epigrammatic with the pen and audacious with the sword. Equally open to a generous impulse, the error of self appreciation and a desire for rapid glory, both based some impression of infallibility on the rules of technical education and the prestige of former service. Both appear in history fit subjects to point the moral that while success is self recording, misfortune commands its equal right to a reliable record. With probably less natural ability than either, Gen. Carleton combined with courage and decision the additional requisite of business capacity. He appears to have received in all history, that which these brilliant contemporaries sought for and failed to achieve, as a reward for his unassuming usefulness and admitted humanity. It has been considered whether there would have been a Saratoga in our roll of victories, had that active commander led the expedition. It was his singular fortune to serve in America through the war, to hold Quebec at its outset, and surrender New York at its conclusion. After the peace he became Lord Dorchester and remained in Canada as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. The eccentric General Charles Lee, another soldier of the school of Burgoyne and Gates, influenced by his too little faith in Washington as a soldier—after the attempt to hold Fort Washington—and too much in a sense of his own educated superiority, attempted to treat, for a hasty completion of the war, as Dr. George H. Moore has shown, with an *individuality* too intense, to conceive its exercise treasonable.

Indians in the Province of Quebec, and in the Provinces lying on the Frontiers thereof.

I am happy to inform you of this Mark of His Majesty's Favor and Confidence and as it conveys to you most authentically His Royal Approbation of your former services, it will, I am sure, impress you with the warmest Sentiments of Duty and Gratitude, and excite you to exert your utmost endeavors to render your present appointment beneficial to the Public, by establishing a strict economy through all branches of your Department, which will be the best means of recommending yourself to His Majestys future Favor and Attention. You will see by the terms of your warrant that you are to follow such Orders and instructions as you shall receive from the Commander-in-Chief of His Majestys Forces in the Provinces of Quebec, I have signified to General Haldimand His Majestys Pleasure that he should make you such Allowances for your Services and Expenses as he shall judge adequate and proper. I have therefore only to signify to you His Majestys Commands that you do with all possible expedition return to Quebec and take upon you the exercise of the very important office to which you are appointed and immediately after your arrival address yourself to General Haldimand or the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces who will give you orders for your further proceedings, which you are in all cases to pay the most exact and punctual obedience.

Sir, Your Most Obedient
humble servant,

Sir John Johnson, Bar.³⁰

W. ELLIS.²⁹

But, when at this interval there arose a report, that the Americans were advancing to carry their successes into Canada, and some military movements towards the frontier — probably merely demonstrations — had given it color, we find³¹ Sir Ferdi-

²⁹ He occupied many positions of honor and trust; was a member of the Privy Council, and of Parliament for Weymouth, and created Lord Mendip in 1794.

³⁰ Sir John had already performed similar duties probably with local rank. He was at this time in his thirty-sixth year.

³¹ Riedesel Memoirs.

nand Haldimand, commanding in Canada, alive to the danger, communicating to Baron von Riedesel, in command at Sorel, in a letter dated Quebec, February 13, 1783, that he had despatched a messenger to the "Chevalier Johnson," to send "five or six of the most active, and expert Mohawks, to watch the road from Albany to West Point," and suggesting that he, "with his savages and light batallion, fall back a few miles, even about Point au Fer," which shows him at that date again in active service.

The one thousand pounds a year furnished him, liberal pay at that time, no doubt, if poorly compensating for his own lost revenue, attests that the outlays of his government, had not yet been checked by its reverses. We can gather from another paper, that he had been engaged at that time on picket duty, in the neighborhood of his old home, scouting, having soldiers and scouts "piloted," secreting and procuring intelligence, all incident to border expeditions, probably entrusted to him from his knowledge of localities and perhaps involving some of those inhumanities, which tradition have laid to his account. For fourteen months of this service, General Haldimand appears to have compensated him at the rate of ten shillings sterling a day, a liberal allowance also, at existing values, but implying that he was not then under regular military pay.

ACCOUNTS of contingent expenses incurred by Sir John Johnson, Baronet, on account of the Government by orders of His Excellency General Haldimand in sundry services between the 25 Dec., 1780, and the 13 March, 1782.

1781.

Aug. 5.	To cash to Michael Lett and party for their Services and Expenses on a Scout to Tryon County.....	£11 13 4
Sept. 10.	To do. to Sergeant Haines and party for their services, etc., on a Scout to the County of Tryon	15 10 0

1782.

Nov. 10.	To Peter Prunner, late of the Albany Bush, in the County of Tryon, for Piloting soldiers and scouts employed in the service and supplying them with Provisions between the 16th June, 1779, and the 28th September, 1782.....	36	8	0
Dec. 15.	To do. to Wm. Parker, Sen., for Provisions and Surveying, and procuring Intelligence and assisting Scouts Provisions between the 15th September, 1778, and the 25th Aug., 1781.....	30		
" 20.	To do. to Wm. Kennedy, for sundry services in secreting and procuring intelligence and Assisting Scouts with Provisions between the 15th Sept., 1778, and the 25th Aug., 1781.....	35	15	6
	To cash paid to the late Samuel McKay, Esq., for Provisions overpaid for by him for his Corps.....	39	15	6
	To an allowance from his Excellency General Haldimand for Extra Service from the 28th Dec., 1780 to the 13th March, 1782, inclusive at 10s. sterling per day £222.....	237	17	1
Currency.....		£406	19	5
JOHN JOHNSON.				

Other papers refer merely to routine duty; in them "Molly Brant" is recalled as a pensioner, and Colonels Guy Johnson, Butler, and John Campbell, all familiar names in partisan warfare, as connected still with the government service.

Receipt of Lieut. Col. John Campbell.

RECEIVED from Sir John Johnson, Baronet, Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, Two Thou-

sand and fifty-seven Pounds, Thirteen Shills and Eight pence Halifax Currency being the amount of Disbursements paid by me for the Indian Department under my direction from the 25th of March to the 24th September, 1783, per acc't and vouchers delivered to him by

JOHN CAMPBELL.

£2057 13 8 Cy.

SUBSISTENCE wanted for the Officers of the Six Nations Departments from 25 March to 24 Sept., 1783, Inclusive.

Rank	Commencing	Ending	No. of Days	Rate per day	New York £ s d	Sterling £ s d
One Col & Superintendents (Pay rec'd from the General to Dec. 24 next).	25 March	24 Sept	184	"	" " "	300
One Deputy in Canada	do	do	184	"	" " "	100
Two Lieutenants (Clement & Magin)	do	do	184	a dollar	147 4	
One Surgeon Mate	do	do	184	do	73 12	
One Clerk	do	do	184	6s. York Cy	55 4	
One Commissary (Moses Ibbitt) Invalided and discharged	do	do	184	a dollar	73 12	
One Issued as a Volunteer (John Service)	do	do	184	6s. York Cy	55 4	
One Interpreter (Le Coragine) Invalided	do	do	184	a dollar	73 12	
Catharine Hare widow of the late Lieut Hare Pension	do	do	184			10
					478 0 8	279 1 4

689 1 4

COL. GUY JOHNSON.

Amt of Lieut Col Butlers Deputy Agents return hereto annexed paid by his draft on the Superintendent General 1713 4 4

Two Thousand four hundred & 2 pounds $\frac{5}{8}$ £2,402 5 8
 E. E. Quebec 25 October 1783. G. JOHNSON.
 £689 1 4 Col Johnson
 1713 4 4 Lt Col Butler

2402 5 8 Sterling

RECEIVED from Sir John Johnson, Baronet, his Majestys Super Intendent General & Inspector General for Indian Affairs in North America the sum of £689 1s 4d sterling for my own and a Deputys Salary, the pay of officers and others employed in his Majestys service in the Indian Department under my Superintendency, from the 25 March to 24 Sept., 1783, and I certify that the said Sir John Johnson also pay the sum of £1713 4s 4d for the pay of Lieut. Col. Butler, Deputy Agent, that of the officers and others employed in his Majestys service in the Indian Department in the district of Niagara as per the above list &c.

G. JOHNSON,³²

Col. & Supt. of the Six Nations.

MONTREAL, 4 August, 1784.

SIR : Please pay to Mr. Charles McCormick or Order Sixty Eight Pounds twelve & sixpence currency being the amount of his pay from 25 March to the 24 September 1784 as Clerk & Commissary of Indian Stores for the District of Detroit.

JOHN JOHNSON.

Mr. R. Dobie, Merchant.

£54 15s. N. Y. Currency. CATARAGUI, 20 August, 1784.

SIR : At sight please pay Mr. Robert Hamilton or order the sum of Fifty-four pounds fifteen shillings New York Currency being the amount of my half pay up to the 24 of last March which pass to account as per advice from,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

EBENEZER ALLEN.

To Sir John Johnson Knt

& Baron Knight (sic) Montreal.

Mr. Dobie will please pay the above draft.

J. JOHNSON.

For £50 Currency.

MONTREAL, 20 August, 1784.

SIR : Please pay to Mrs. Mary Brant³³ or order Fifty pounds Halifax Currency in part of her pension from Government from 23 Oct., 83 & 22 Sept. 1784.

JOHN JOHNSON.

To Mr. Richard Dobie, Montreal.

³² Col. Guy Johnson, nephew, son-in-law, some time secretary and named as successor to Sir William Johnson.

³³ The widow of Joseph Brant [Thayendanegea] who survived her husband thirty years.

LONDON, Dec. 24, 1784.

Received from Sir John Johnson, Baronet, His Majesty's Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs in North America, Three Hundred Pounds Sterling for my Salary as Superintendent of the Six Indian Nations and their Allies from 25 June to the 24 Dec., 1784, Inclusive.

£300.

G. JOHNSON,³⁴

Col. & Superintendent of the Six Nations.

A letter from Major General Hope, Commander-in-Chief &c., to Sir John is apparently interesting, as throwing further light on a restless escapade, which is referred to in the life of that early representative of the possibilities and effect of education, even upon a savage mind. He had determined at this time to seek in person, the indemnity for the losses of his people, which Sir John — who wished to prevent his absence, at what he considered an important moment, had failed to secure in his own recent visit.

QUEBEC, Nov. 9, 1785.

DEAR SIR :

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 6 by express last night at ten o'clock but too late I am sorry to tell you, by two days for producing the effect desired ; Joseph³⁵ having come to the resolution suddenly of taking passage in the Packet which sailed on Sunday at eleven o'clock in the forenoon ; having been made to believe as he said that the *Madona* was not a safe conveyance from having so few hands, but rather, I am apt to believe from some suspicion that he had entertained of being disappointed in getting away at all if he deferred it till the last Trip, or perhaps artfully wishing to avoid the knowledge of your sentiments which he might expect that the arrival of David at Montreal would produce. In short, my dear Sir John, he was bent upon going and is off notwithstanding my different attempts to dissuade him — offered in such a manner at first as

³⁴ An interesting letter from Col. Guy Johnson to Sir William, too late for insertion here, will be found in Appendix A.

³⁵ Captain Joseph Brant — Thayendanagea.

not to give him surprize, and at last without disguise of his acting contrary to yours and my wishes and inclinations—all however to no purpose. I have therefore with much regret to return you the letter addressed to Joseph, your other Packet to the Dep. Paymaster General was sent to him.

I congratulate you on the arrival of the Dallis with your things—she got up yesterday but has brought me no Dispatches of any consequence. That we must go on with the Indian business as concerted—keeping them in good humour as much as possible and preaching up patience — & firmness—but by no means encouraging their breaking out. As to anything you may think proper to do to retain those Chiefs & others of influence, or to effect these purposes above mentioned, I shall most readily acquiesce in. With respect to the tools you speak of that were by mistake inserted in the Loyalists Invoice, orders shall be given in consequence of your representation to this effect to deliver up the remainder of them not actually issued for the use of the Indians on your order; as likewise to comply with your requisition for the same purpose to deliver any other articles out of the stores reserved for the use of the Loyalists, being perfectly convinced that from your equal desire to supply and knowledge of the wants of both, that no partial use will ever be made of such discretionary latitude lodged with you.

I return you many thanks and am most flattered by your obliging professions and wishes to myself—request you will make my respects to Lady Johnson and Mrs. Claus, and

I am Dear Sir with unfeigned regard

Your very faithful and obedient humble servant

Sir John Johnson, Bart.,

HENRY HOPE.³⁶

Superintendent General, &c. &c.

Joseph Brant here referred to, is generally recalled by the striking incidents of his life.

A pure blooded Onondaga, the son of a chief, but educated by Sir William's care at Dr. Wheelock's celebrated Moor

³⁶ General Hope was in America in 1775 as Major of the 44th Foot (Gen. Abercrombie's Regt.), and had seen much service there.



SEPE BRANT. TAYEITDAITE'OLA.

school, he proved an apt scholar, soon fitted as an interpreter to Dr. Charles Jeffrey Smith, a self sustaining young missionary.

Gallantly protecting him when attacked by the Indians, and performing all his duties satisfactorily he won at this period the testimony of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, "he conducted himself so much like a Christian, and a soldier, that he gained great esteem."

Later, he interested himself in the work of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts" and labored with them for the civilization of his people.

When becoming the chief of the Six Nations he wielded a great authority and coöperated with Sir William Johnson, to whom he became allied, as well by affinity as by gratitude. In their close association he doubtless developed the appreciation of the position of his people, and the capacity to vindicate it with an able pen.³⁷ He visited England in 1775, and again as that letter shows at the end of the war, attracting distinguished attention

³⁷ This letter as to the rights of his people and his own appreciation of honorable dealing is an example.

SIR :

NASSAU, 30 December, 1794.

Your letters of the 17th & 20th November, '94, from Konondagwa, I have now before me and have to say, that at all of our meetings during the whole of last summer, our thoughts were solely bent on fixing a boundary line between the confederate Indians and the United States, so as that peace might be established on a solid basis, for which reason we pointed out the line we did, well knowing the justness of it and that it would be ratify'd by the whole Indian confederacy.

As an individual I must regret to find that the Boundary so pointed out has now been abandoned, the establishing of which I am well convinced would have been the means of bringing about a lasting and permanent peace. This object so earnestly to be desired has ever made me exert every nerve, wishing for nothing more than mutual justice. This line you'll recollect was offered to Governor St. Clair at Muskingum, and notwithstanding the two successful campaigns of the Indians after this, I still adhered to the same and still do, this I hope will satisfy you that my wish ever was for Peace, the offer made was rejected by Mr. St. Clair, and what the consequences has been you well know, I should be sorry if your efforts were crowned with no better success, as your exertions I hope are not influenced by similar motives with his. You must also recollect that I differed even with my friends respecting this Boundary, and to the two last messages you then received my name was to neither of them, because I thought them too unreasonable, this made me take more pains and trouble to bring the Indians and you to an understanding than I was under any obligation to do—otherwise than humanity dictated to me, having nothing but our mutual interest in view, and as to Politics I study them not, my

partially from his reputation, but also as the chief of the best known tribes of the American Savages, a lion worthy of exhibition. He probably realized then, as he appears to have done, in all the different duties he performed, as their ruler and protector, their inferiority to the white man from the want of that education, which made him sensitive as to their ignorance.

His visit, however, was marked with much appreciation. The King received him, with good humor, even when he refused to kiss his hand, but offered that mark of homage to the Queen. The Duke of Northumberland, Lords Dorchester and Hastings and General Stewart — the son of Bute — who had all served

principle is founded on justice, and justice is all I wish for, and never shall I exert myself on behalf of any nation or nations, let their opinion of me be what it will, unless I plainly see they are just and sincere in their pursuits, doing what in every respect to justice may belong. When I perceive such are the sentiments of a People no endeavors shall be wanting on my part to bring neighbors to a good understanding.

I must again repeat that I am extremely sorry this Boundary so long since pointed out, should have been abandoned, it being an object of such magnitude and which much depends on the whole Indian confederacy being interested. I should therefore have supposed it would have been more for our mutual interest and would have had a better effect, to have dealt upon a larger scale, than within the small compass of the Five Nations, the meeting being intended solely to talk over the business of the Boundary and then to have acquainted the whole confederacy with what had passed, so that something final could have been determined on as all that part of the country is common to the whole. You say on your part everything has been openly and fairly explained and that you shall be disappointed if the Chiefs do not acknowledge your candour, I can for my own part form no opinion, whether it is so or not, being perfectly ignorant of what has passed, but ever look upon it that business fairly transacted should be adhered to as sacred. And that you are still ready to make peace with the Western Nations, this has made me say much about the Boundary line, in order that peace and friendship might be established between you, this obliges me to say they ought to have been included in this treaty and to have been consulted with as well as those who were there, they being equally interested with the Six Nations as to this line. *As to the British they are an independent nation, as well as the United States or the Indian Nations and of course act for themselves as all other White nations do.* My mentioning in my letter to you that I was sorry Mr. Johnson was looked upon as a Spy, was because I knew the Five Nations so often erred in their transactions with the White People, it being myself in person from the wish of the Indians that requested Mr. Johnson should go to the Treaty in consequence of which request he was permitted. I was well aware at the same time of the reception he would meet with, as we are an independent People I ever thought our Council should be private, but must at the same time say, we have an un-

in America, greeted him as a brother veteran and Lords Warwick and Percy, and Dr. Johnson's James Boswell, ordered his portraits, the last, a high testimony that he *was* a "lion."

Yet doubtless he realized his own questionable position, when seeking any trust, with his cultivated nature disguised by the face of a savage. The accompanying letter of Washington displays the general want of confidence in them, by all who were prejudiced against his race.

He adhered to the British Government throughout the war, and after the Treaty of Peace, in which no provision was made as to the territory of his people, struggled to retain what they had formerly possessed. The indefiniteness of the Treaty line,

doubted right to admit at our Councils who we please — of course the United States have it optional whether they will treat or not with any Nation or Nations when Foreign Agents are present.

You seem to think in your letter of the 20th that the Senekas are the Nation most concerned in the Trusts in question agreeable to the lines you point out. At the different Treaties held since the year '83 I allow the Senekas from their proceedings seemed to be the only Nation concerned in that country, although the whole Five Nations have an equal right, one with the other, the country having been obtained by the joint exertions in war with a Powerful Nation formerly living southward of Buffalo Creek called Eries and another Nation then living at Tioga Point, so that by our successes all the country between that and the Mississippi became the joint property of the Five Nations, all other nations now inhabiting this great Tract of Country was allowed to settle by the Five Nations.

This I hope will convince you that the Mohawks have an equal claim and right to receive in proportion with the others of the Five Nations, but as I am ignorant of the Transaction, knowing nothing of what has passed and what was the result of the Treaty, must therefore defer saying anything further on the subject until I know the particulars, which I hope will be ere long. As to the others of the Five Nations residing on the Grand River they must answer for themselves. I am not so particular in this as I might be, seeing no great necessity for it, as I hope to see General Chapin ere long. In reading the Speech you have sent me I perceive that you say we requested you might be sent to Kindle the Council Fire &c. This I know to be a mistake, in our speech to General Chapin we wished the President of the United States to send a Commissioner to our Fire Place at Buffaloe Creek (your name being mentioned). Not that you was to come and kindle a Council Fire elsewhere — & that you requested our assistance to bring about a Peace, &c. — You did and everything has been done by us faithfully and sincerely by pointing out the Medicine that would accomplish it, your relinquishing parts of your claims in the Indian Country. You also say I told Genl Chapin at Winnys that it was the British that prevented the Treaty taking place. I said so then and still do. What enabled me to say so was the Gentlemen belonging to the Indian Department in that quarter interfering in the business.

which long remained as flexible as a wire fence, moved back and forth at will, even looking for the sources of the Mississippi at the Lake of the Woods, instead of Itaska lake, far below, and which required four subsequent treaties, an arbitration, and a war, to settle ; seems a reasonable cause for discussions, attempts at treaties, and long complications.

These letters to Colonels Pickering and Monroe are merely suggestions of the many records existing of his capacity and persistency, in seeking to protect and retain what his forefathers had held by an undisputed title, before even the Johnsons had come with the authority of conquest, to divide it.

When Gist, the companion of Washington, was exploring the valley of the Ohio, in 1752, a Delaware chief demanded of him :

Had the line as pointed out by us been accepted by the United States their interference would not have prevented Peace then taking place as the Five Nations had pledged themselves to see it ratified. As to the business of the White Nations I perceive it at present to be a lottery which will be uppermost cannot be known until drawn, the most powerful no doubt will succeed, but let who will be successful our situation is the same, as we still have whites to deal with whose aims are generally similar. You mention the People of France took the Indian method. All their warriors turned out. The Indian warriors are always ready to turn out to defend their just rights. But Indian warriors would not be ready to Butcher in an inhuman shocking manner their King, Queen, Nobles and others, this is acting worse than what is called Savage. The Indians are not entirely destitute of humanity, but from every appearance it has fled from France. I must therefore say the French have not acted as the Indians do. You likewise mention that you told the Deputies from the Westward who met you at this place, that though you was willing to run a new line yet it was impossible to make the Ohio the Boundary, this I believe is a mistake as the word Ohio was never mentioned at that time. You may rest assured that I do not swerve from any expressions I have made use of. I know the necessity for being candid, especially at this critical juncture. I still earnestly hope that Peace may be established without further bloodshed & that Friendship may reign between the People of the United States and the Indian Nations, this be assured is the Sincere wish of

Sir, Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant

Timothy Pickering, Esqr.

JOS. BRANT.

Col. Pickering had been employed for some years in these negotiations as being a member of the President's Cabinet as Post Master General and in this year made Secretary of War. Another very interesting and able letter of Brant to Colonel James Monroe in four neatly written pages is omitted, as partially printed in the 2d Vol. of his Life.

"Where *are* the lands of the Indians? the French claim all on one side of the river, and the English all on the other."³⁸ Such was the position of the heritage which Brant believing that he was born to maintain and transmit, was then losing.

Failing, as many have done before and since, he retired into Canada and spent his later years under the protection of those with whom he had made common cause, but personally so delicately accepting their bounty, as in one instance to question his own right to a pension, as a retired military officer.

Thomas Campbell, lived to correct — in a foot note — his record of Brant's cruelty, in his widely read "*Gertrude of Wyoming*," but its subject who had grieved over it, had died too soon for the comforting retraction. His absence on that occasion, threw the weight of the massacre on a white savage, Colonel John Butler, who doubtless had the same authority as that conferred on his kinsman and subordinate by the commission annexed.³⁹

Brant was, however, present at the battle of Minisink, where great cruelty was displayed, for which he has been censured. If he was responsible for it, it detracts from many other evidences of his humanity in warfare, and shows the trace of the savage element in his character, when fired by war.

³⁸ Griswold and Lossing's *Washington*.

³⁹ This commission indicating care in its instructions, now unusual in such documents, and wear from use, is that of Walter Butler, noted both for his efficiency and cruelty, killed at Canada Creek, on the 29th of October, 1781, by a force under Col. Marinus Willett, while retreating from a raid to Warren's Bush, and his former home, in the year succeeding the expedition of Sir John.

GUY CARLETON, Knight of the Bath, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the province of Quebec and Territories depending thereon, &c., &c., General and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said Province and the Frontiers thereof &c., &c.

To WALTER BUTLER, Esq., Greeting :

Reposing special trust and Confidence, in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, I do by these Presents Constitute and appoint you to be *Captain in a Corps of Rangers*

He would appear to have been a man of large capacity ; and his record a noticeable evidence of the result of its development in time of peace, by the same wise appliances, now interesting to examine in use, at the school at Hampton, Va., in charge of General Armstrong, and probably at the two others, at Forest Grove for the western, and Carlisle for the eastern section. Such efforts, are in accordance with the dying suggestions of Brant to his nephew, "Have pity on the poor Indians ; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can."

His life by Colonel Stone, a work of singular interest, gives full detail of his career, in part early collected in his old neighborhood—a fine edition of it printed by the late Joel Munsell, of Albany, largely with his own hand, assists to cause the latter to be recalled by some collectors, as the Albany "Caxton."

It is just to record a dissenting opinion as to the proper treatment of the remaining Aborigines. It differs from those of Colonel Brisbane, and other regular officers who have served amongst them, and of some who have visited the border posts and studied the effect of the contact of races. Captain Payne

to serve with the Indians during the Rebellion. Whereof *John Butler, Esq., is Major Commandant.* You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of captain by exercising and well disciplining both the Inferior Officers and Soldiers of that Corps, and I do hereby command them to obey you as their Captain, and you are to observe and follow such Orders and directions as you shall from Time to Time receive from me, your Major Commandant, or any other Superior Officer, according to the rules and discipline of War. In pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you. *Given* under my hand and Seal at Arms, at *Quebec*, this twentieth day of December, 1777, and in the Eighteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *George the Third*, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth,

GUY CARLETON.

By His Excellency's Command, FRANCIS LE MAISTRE.

Walter Butler, Esq., Captain of a Corps of Rangers, to serve with the Indians during the Rebellion.

recently arrested by our troops when raiding in the Indian Territory, and affecting to be a humane man in his way, says:

“Tell the Herald, that the policy of myself and followers is not to resist the government, so we came along with the troops when we were told to come. * * * *

“There is a class of people who are eternally howling that they are afraid the white man may crowd the Indian. They are the people who sit in their houses, cut their coupons and read gush about the poor Indian. They don't want farms and a living, they have already got them and have no sympathy for those who are poor and want homes. They would rather see the poor man starve, than to have their picture of the noble redman chasing the wild gazelle over an eternal meadow with a babbling brook, destroyed.”

The writer must be aware that while the area of the Indian Territory is less than 69,000 square miles, that of Texas is 274,356, large enough it would appear, for the accommodation of the rights of the settler, and the native. That there is a vast area of land in the west and south-west, already open “to those who want farms.” If any person desires to trace the origin and progress of such methods as he proposes, for securing the territory of the “noble red man,” without consideration or equivalent, he can find them successively detailed in this “Life of Brant,” and many other works referring to the same period. If such acquisitions are still indispensable to the progress of civilization, might we not devise a way of acquiring the territory consistent with its teachings, which would be more creditable in future history than that of involving constant collision and shedding of blood.

Lord Sydney simply recognizes Johnson's official position, in fixing a temporary salary, which even with the difference in the value of money, would be a moderate compensation now for a subordinate civil officer.

WHITEHALL, 20 August, 1785.

SIR :

I am sorry that it is not in my power before your departure for Quebec, to acquaint you that some decision had taken place with respect to your salary as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. I hope that it will very shortly be fixed, in the meantime I am authorized to inform you that you may draw upon the Commander-in-chief in Canada, for the usual salary of One Thousand pounds per annum, until you receive further direction from me. I flatter myself that I shall be able to write to you fully upon this subject by the next Packet that sails for Quebec, and you may be assured that no endeavour of mine will be wanting to obtain the augmentation of your salary which you desire, and place it upon a permanent footing, I have the honor to be, with regard,

Sir, Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant, .

SYDNEY.⁴⁰

Sir John Johnson, Bart.

No British officer in service in the Revolution, would appear to have left America with more reciprocal hostile feeling than General Gage, the earliest commander of the King's Troops in that war. The certificate of his son has no interest, beyond a reference to his father's habit of business.

⁴⁰ Hon. Thomas Townshend who on the dissolution of Lord North's ministry had become Lord Sydney.

GENERAL GAGE'S CERTIFICATE TO SIR JOHN'S DEPUTY.

I certify that Colonel Guy Johnson took an active part in favour of the British Government from the first appearance of a Revolt in North America, that he did his duty as became a faithful Subject in his Department of Superintendent of Indian Nations and kept those Tribes in his Majestys Interest and defeated the Endeavors of the Rebels to alienate their affections from the King, and to induce them to appear in Arms against his Government. That he assembled a large Body of Indians and joined General Carlton in Canada.

THOS GAGE.

Given under my hand this 21st day of June 1785.

MR. CHEW⁴¹ attorney for Sir John Johnson having applied to me for copies of the accounts which Sir Wm. Johnson Super Intendent for Indian Affairs transmitted to my father General Gage deceased during his Commanding His Majestys Troops in America, and for copies of the Warrants he gave for the Payment thereof, I can only say that my fathers papers have not come immediately under my inspection or can I say positively whether the copies of those Accounts and Warrants are with them, but am certain that it was a Rule with him to see accounts made clear and plain and when he gave Warrants for the Payment the Warrants were annexed to the Accounts and transmitted by him to the Pay Office in London where they now no doubt may be found.

H. GAGE.⁴²

Old Aboresford Nov. 16, 1787.

To Mr. Chew, Attorney to Sir John Johnson.

⁴¹ Captain Joseph Chew, a prisoner to the French when commanding a detachment reconnoitering 19 June, 1747. A legatee of 250 acres in Sir William Johnson's will, as his "much esteemed friend and old acquaintance" and father of his god son. Also one of the executors.

⁴² Henry Viscount Gage, retired Major of the 93 Regt. of Foot, a grandson of Peter Kemble of the Kings Council of New Jersey, also the ancestor of the late well esteemed Gouverneur Kemble, of New York.

Three of these jetsams of Time, suggest the continued expense which Great Britain was incurring in the charge of her Indian population even in time of peace, and whether it was in consideration of their former service in war.

Guy, Lord Dorchester General and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America.

To Thomas Boone, Deputy Paymaster General, etc., Warrant to pay Sir John Johnson, etc., etc., Nine Thousand pounds sterling in dollars at 4s. 8d., each, for services of "persons employed and sundry disbursements of the Department of Indian Affairs under his Superintendency between 25th Dec., 1786, and 24th March, 1787."

Quebec, 9th November, 1786.

DORCHESTER.

To the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, Capt: General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colonies of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick & their Dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majestys Forces in Said Colonies & in the Island of Newfoundland &c &c.

The Memorial of Sir John Johnson Baronet Superintendent General & Inspector General of Indian Affairs.

Humbly Sheweth. That your Memorialist is in want of £4319 5s. 8d. sterling to enable him to pay Persons employed in the Department of Indian Affairs under his Superintendency between the 25 December 1786 and 24 December 1787 as per abstract annexed. We therefore pray your Excellencys Warrant on the Deputy Paymaster General for the above sum.

JOHN JOHNSON.

QUEBEC 16 April, 1788.

ANOTHER ORDER by Lord Dorchester, in favor of Sir John as Superintendent and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, for Two Thousand pounds, for incidental expenses, between 25th December, 1786, and 24th December, 1787.

Both signed by Dorchester and Captain Francis Le Maistre, the Governor's A. D. C. and Secretary and endorsed by Sir John Johnson.

This doubtless to be used in a claim for indemnity, refers to a useful officer of the British Government in Canada during the Revolution.

In the Exchequer



In the matter of Sir John Johnson, Baronet, the legal personal representative of Sir William Johnson, Baronet, his late Father, deceased, late Superintendent of Indian Affairs in North America.

Thomas Wallis, late Assistant in the office of the Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in North America, now of Hertford street, Mayfair, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman, maketh oath and saith, that he has known General Sir Frederick Haldimand for fourteen years and that the words and figures "London the 14th of August, 1787," and the name "Fred Haldimand" appearing to be written and subscribed at the foot of the account and certificate marked with the letter X now produced, are the proper handwriting of the said General Sir Fred Haldimand,⁴³ and were written and subscribed by him in the presence of this deponent, and the said General Sir Fred Haldimand after he had so subscribed the same, delivered the said produced account and certificate to this deponent, and directed him to deliver the same to Mr. Chew, attorney to the said Sir William Johnson.

THOS. WALLIS.

Sworn at my house in St. John street }
the 11th April, 1788, before me. }

J. A. EYRE.

Sir John here appears in a civil office usually awarded in British Colonies, as a mark of especial consideration.

⁴³ Born and died at Switzerland, at first in Prussian service, but entered the English with Col. Bouquet. Came to America as Lt. Col. 60 Royal American Regt. in 1757; distinguished at Ticonderoga in 1750; defended Oswego in 1759; with Amherst at Montreal in 1760; as Colonel at Pensacola 1767; home informing ministry as to Colonies in 1775; back as Lieut. General in 1776; succeeded Carleton as Gov. of Canada in 1778 and until 1784; died in 1791.

QUEBEC, 1 May, 1787.

RECEIVED from Henry Caldwell, Esq., Acting Receiver General of the Province of Quebec the sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling, being for my Salary as a Member of the Legislative Council of the Province, from 1st November, 1786, to 30 April, 1787, pursuant to his Excellency, Governor Lord Dorchester's warrant dated 1st May 1787, for which I have signed Two Receipts of this Tenor and Date.

£50 Sterling.

JOHN JOHNSON.

Apparently a moderate compensation compared with that of later law-makers, and especially well earned if the *quality* of legislation was equivalent to its *quantity*. In this it would markedly differ from much that has been *condensed* into portly volumes as the brain food offered by the deliberative wisdom of other bodies when sitting for a similar period. Perhaps he divined how much easier it is to enact, than in all cases to comprehend. How doubtful the *intention* of the law maker often proves to others, and how much special legislation is rendered unnecessary by general acts, if sought for. He doubtless discovered, as many legislators have, that there were more debaters than listeners, more movers than seconders, and that it is easier to criticise than to originate.

The remaining letter borrowed from a friend's exhaustive collection of Americana merely displays neighborly kindness to one who sympathised in sentiment and destiny, by taking refuge from imprisonment for political offences in Canada with the writer.

DR SIR

JOHNSONS HALL 25 July 1775.

The bearer will deliver you some provisions & clothes and Mr Clement will give you a paper containing a Ten pound note which I received from Mrs White this morning. The Indians having desired some cash from me to expend when they come

amongst the inhabitants in Canada, which I have not to give them I must beg you will supply them & charge it to Colonel Johnson. If you have forgot anything and I can be of service to you I beg you'll mention it. God bless you.

To Alexander White Esq. Yrs J. JOHNSON.⁴⁴

These random notes as to the Johnsons suggest reflections as to the quality of loyalty, even in an adversary, to one whose sympathies, studies and collections, have for years been devoted to appreciative illustration of the achievements of their opponents and a jealous watchfulness to their use. Although sketched from a different standpoint, he trusts that his conclusions will accord with those which a friend is preparing under different inspirations, at a point too remote for comparison. The absence of Memoirs, Diaries,⁴⁵ and even of comprehensive letters on these details is to be regretted.

⁴⁴ *This* and one other letter belonging to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett, all of the other letters and papers in that of the contributor. As to Sheriff White and the circumstances under which it was written, vide Stone's "Life of Brant," Vol. I, pp. 101-6-7-12, 364.

⁴⁵ There appears to be a resemblance — probably often noticed by others, between the useful oyster fisher, who delves with his rake into the muddy bottom, for the bivalve and the less widely appreciated labor of one who dives for costly pearls in the turbid waters of forgotten fact.

Many amateur Collectors of fragmentary history are scattered over the country purchasing and articulating disjointed material, and quietly working with the devotion voluntarily displayed by Old Mortality in *his* specialty of restoring the dilapidated tombstones of people he had never seen. No writer on American History has elucidated more epitaphs of the humbler patriots, than Dr. Lossing, whose "Field Books" are in effect, Biographical Lexicons.

Another instance of a renaissance of valuable historical waifs, germane to the name of Burgoyne, elsewhere referred to, as connected with one associated with his career once as his fellow soldier, then his conqueror, and styled by him his "Accoucheur!" A large portion of the military papers, and order books, of General Gates, after slumbering in his muniment box for over threescore years, had recently a new birth, in falling into the remarkable Emmet Collection.

A part of them through the active enterprise of Mr. John Austin Stevens, were used to add value of the word "Resurgam" by their publication in the October, 1880 — Gates — number of the "Magazine of American History." They arise to dispel many errors, disseminated in American History. They show, that after his probably ill-advised advance at Camden, when driven from a remote part of the field by the precipitate flight of the North Carolina militia — con-

Without these evidences, many, intending to leave an honorable record, will always go down to posterity as responsible from their position, in political or military life, for action of their associates, which they personally abhorred, perhaps opposed, in its progress, or at worst finally submitted to, from fear of retaliation, on some proper object.

Samuel Pepys, who recorded in his Diary with the experiences of an unimportant life, much random fact, some of which subsequently become of historical interest, is now being recalled — two centuries later — by the erection of a Memorial in London, in the place where he worshipped and rests. It would have been interesting if Johnson himself, or some Pepysian annotator of events, sharing his confidence and his tent or home, had jotted down the circumstances attending his arrest, parole,

fronted by well drilled regulars — ignorant by this separation, of the stand de Kalb was making, with the gallant Maryland and Delaware line and a few militia, having the benefit of their near example, that he, with General Caswell and other officers, struggled for many miles to rally them, so “flying” with them before the pursuing enemy, in an effort to bring them back. That instead of his “hair growing grey as he fled,” in his letter to the President of Congress, Hillsborough, 20th August, 1780, he says, “By this time the militia had taken to the woods in all directions, and I concluded with General Caswell, to retire towards Charlotte, I got there late in the night — but reflecting that there was neither arms, ammunition, nor any prospect of collecting any Force at that Place, adequate to the defence of the Country — I proceeded with all possible despatch hither; to endeavour to fall upon some plan, in conjunction with the Legislature of this State, for the defence of so much thereof as it is yet possible, to save from the enemy.” Whatever the error in his strategy may have been — and it is always easier to criticize than to plan, his course from his arrival seems by many letters energetic, and that of one intent on developing order out of chaos. While mortified with the condition into which he had fallen, he does not appear to have lost heart or hope, and continued his exertions apparently conscious that his prestige as a soldier was lost, until he was superceded by General Greene, who reaped a harvest of laurels on the ground on which his own crop had been blighted.

A recently printed sketch of Colonel Anthony Walton White — who commanded, with Col. Lee, detachments of Continental Cavalry lying near, and only waiting for their horses to have filled a special want at Camden, and whose equipment appears to have been a cause of special anxiety to General Gates — published with a fine military portrait by Sharples, and prepared under the direction of his grandson, Mr. Evans, is another interesting renaissance.

and its claimed infringement or whether he considered it violated and withdrawn by the attempted arrest; and also if at Klocks Farm he left the field unwounded, deserting a command with which he evidently displayed marked courage, in the contest of the day. As to the facts connected with the parole, careful consideration even in the absence of such evidence, would doubtless now convince any fair opponent, that the judgment of some history has been biased, by the then obnoxious position of the actor.

It was exacted, by a display of force, from one who although holding a Major General's commission, had committed no overt act of hostility against the *de facto* government, existing when he was arrested by the order of the "Provincial Congress" of the State, and the "Albany Committee" bodies,

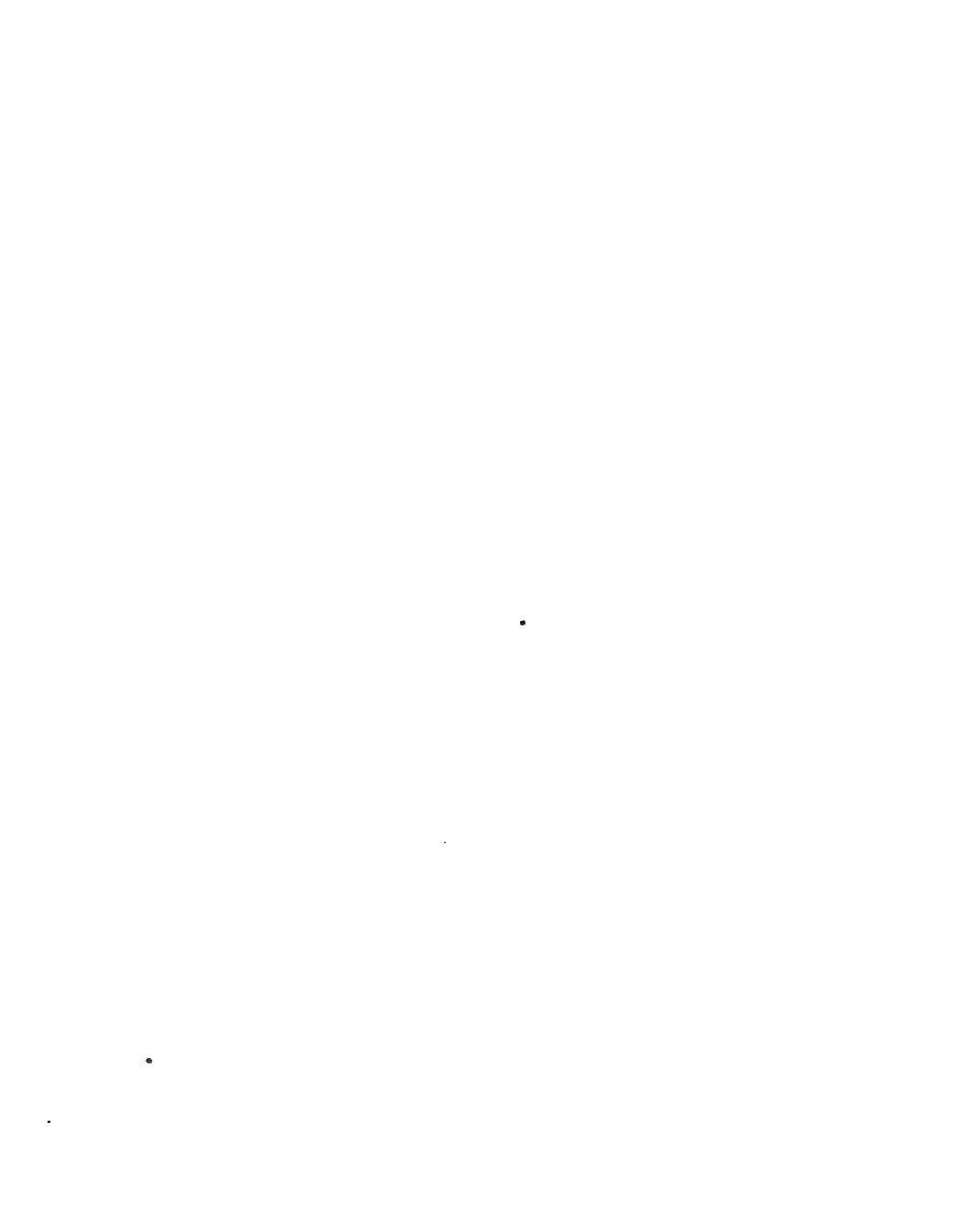
In the field of early southern history there is probably no amateur—amongst the many who are quietly interested in similar labor—who has more liberally contributed valuable privately printed facts than Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta. His "Siege of Savannah in 1779," and another of that of 1864, are amongst his valuable works. While the humane administration of General Ogelthorpe, the remarkable character who founded Georgia, has been largely recalled by his pen; his "Historical Sketches of Tomo-chi-chi, the Mico of the Yamacraws"—an important factor in American History in his period, but whose name now would require a special introduction even to many general readers—affords testimony, based on information, of the merit of another Aboriginal ruler.

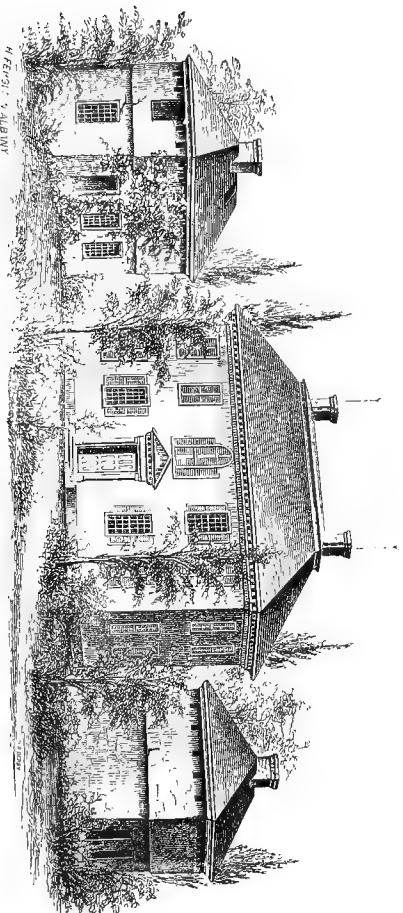
The correspondence of General Daniel Morgan, the hero of Cowpens, including much of Washington, and Lafayette especially his friend, having fallen into the writer's collection, in a manner very satisfactory to his family, an opportunity was soon availed of to use it in recalling his usefulness. Happening to receive an invitation from Mayor Courtenay—a zealous appreciator and collector of Charleston Historical Relics which he liberally restores to their appropriate form and place—and a committee of officers and citizens to be present at the centennial celebration of that battle, the key to Yorktown, it appeared that he would be best represented, by contributing copies of all of the official papers connected with that event. They were recognized, as an articulate apparition of the many writers amidst the scenes of their former action, by the posterity of many of them; filled much of the "Charleston News" of the day, with *local*, if old, intelligence, and have taken one hundred new chances of preservation in a privately printed brochure, neatly prepared by Captain Dawson one of its editors, who sympathizes in the past, while active in his present. These are referred to here, merely as instances of the value of the preservation, and the recurrence of appropriate opportunity to perform an easy duty.

created by an uprising of an indignant people, and *six months after* that incident occurred, formed by the Declaration of Independence into part of a nation *de jure*.

If it had been executed after that period, doubtless the sense of obligation would have been stronger upon a soldier, but at the time the authority of Great Britain controlled a large portion of the Colonies — restive under its restraint — and its local authorities were in power at New York, as in Canada, still recognized as the only lawful rulers by a large portion of the people.

To a person representing large interests, and the head of a family, this interregnum must have been a period for anxiety, and adhering to the old government, made him a subject for suspicion and dislike, to those who had so aggregated for the assertion of grievances, still hoping for concessions to justify their dissolution, but preparing if necessary, in the impending struggle to establish their permanency. To this administration of public affairs, not yet made permanent by the action of Congress on the 4th of the ensuing July, he had refused to give his adhesion, to sign the articles of association, or to recognize its authority, declaring that he would "rather that his head should be cut off," than unite in a conflict with his native government, the authority of which he doubtless hoped would be soon reasserted. In this, he became an obstacle to the popular movement, and was from his influence and authority, a subject for suppression or control. His every movement was watched and discussed, and it was claimed that he was fortifying his house, organizing his retainers, and co-operating with the Indians for resistance, yet there is no clear evidence that he





JOHNSON HALL.

pursued any course unusual to his position as a citizen and a magistrate, in troubled times.

But his presence was esteemed a danger in itself and his removal a necessity which knew no law. General Schuyler arrested him, with a large, unresisted military force, in January, 1776; he was sent to Fishkill and submitted to a parole, not to bear arms against the *de facto* authority which exacted it, or to leave the vicinity of his home. It is probable that he sought in this an opportunity to arrange his affairs, until either concession or suppression restored the authority of his government. For some causes, probably the continued suspicion of danger from his private communications, his capture and confinement, which would have naturally terminated his protection and the mutuality of his parole was decided upon, and Colonel Dayton stopped at the Hall, on his way to Canada, to make his arrest, but found that Johnson, advised of his coming, had escaped into Canada, the nearest accessible stronghold of the authority he recognized. His endurance of nineteen days of terrible suffering in this, his winter journey through the Adirondacks, attested his physical courage; and the leaving all he valued behind him, subordinate to a sense of duty, his remarkable loyalty. The romantic incidents attending Lady Johnson's share in her husband's downfall, will doubtless be appropriately given by her kinsman. He cannot fail to show, that her married life justified the promise which Colonel Guy Johnson discerned before that event, when meeting her while in New York as described in the accompanying letter. (Appendix A.)

Such a parole enforced on a citizen by an as yet temporarily constituted and semi-representative body, and the knowledge

that it was to be substituted by imprisonment, from precaution and not for crime, would appear to differ materially from one exacted after conquest in the field, and that its essence was in the application of Major Dugald Dalgetty's maxim, "*fides et fiducia relativa sunt.*"

Many expert military critics have considered the question of the obligations of paroles, with varied latitude. Some have pronounced this one no longer obligatory on a prisoner, who was aware of its intended breach by the giver, and that the law of nature overrode the dictates of a nice sense of honor — best appreciated in another — and an escape after warning of the intention of the withdrawal of protection was as justifiable before, as after its execution.

But there is a precedent apparently applicable, which illustrates the difference of sympathy from surroundings, and how the same claimed offence is viewed by the friends or enemies of the actor. Those who have remembered the blame which has attached to Sir John, should examine the different sentiments called forth for one who suffered for what he alone was censured. This parallel case, was that of Colonel Isaac Hayne,* a prominent patriot in South Carolina. He had served in the defence of Charleston, with the cavalry operating outside of the city, but not included in the capitulation. Afterwards he considered that the protection of his family residing on the Edisto, required that he should accept a parole from the captors, only obtained, by signing with a protest as to service, the oath of allegiance, prescribed by Sir Henry Clinton's proclamations.

This exposed him to the annoyance of frequent calls for his service as a soldier, due by that obligation to the King, and when Gen. Greene advanced in 1781, *considering* the British

* See Ramsey's Revolution in S. C., Vol. 11, p. 277, etc.

control ended, he again took the field, was captured, tried, and executed, by Lord Rawdon, at the instigation of Col. Nesbit Balfour, the commandant, recalled there still as a tyrant. The whole country was filled with denunciation of this cruelty. The Duke of Richmond censured it in Parliament and Balfour was rendered notable for his unfeeling disregard to the appeal of his family and friends for mercy, while the name of Hayne is remembered, by collectors of American History, as a martyr to a popular and successful cause. Had Sir John been captured in either of his bold invasions, made additionally perilous by that impending charge, he might have suffered, even by the influence of his exasperated neighbors, from whom he had parted with mutual antipathy. His daring on such other occasions, discredits the tradition of his flight, unwounded, in advance of his command, at Klocks Field, and makes it seem an instance of misrepresentation unanswered, and accepted by credulous History as the gift of irresponsible tradition.

It is notable that the "Annals of Tryon County," which William W. Campbell, an estimable gentleman and painstaking collector, residing at Cherry Valley, prepared many years ago,* in connection with a society formed at that place for the collection of Local History, in describing the battle, and alluding to the bravery of Johnson's troops, omits this sudden departure which must have reached him there in rumor, rejected as fact.

The tradition of his flight from Klocks Field without referring to his disabled condition, perhaps arose with exasperated neighbors while suffering from his undoubtedly vindictive ravages, whose patriotism was naturally stimulated by the possession of his abandoned property, and from whom any sympathy would be as unnatural as that of the huntsman for a

* Border Warfare of New York and Annals, etc., 1849.

wounded stag, which had ceased to stand at bay. That his accepted government appreciated the audacity of his three incursions, and subsequently repeatedly honored him with commands and places of trust, proves at least their continued confidence in his courage and honor. That any of these questions should remain open for discussion, more than a century afterwards sustains the views elsewhere expressed, of the untold value of impartial and carefully prepared cotemporary history.

In any event he had opportunity to regret in a long life of exile, the beautiful home which he had lost by the rigor with which his native State adhered to its rule of confiscation. He resided afterwards in Canada, and is still represented by many distinguished descendants. When he died he afforded to posterity an opportunity to consider that best test for judgment of the action of another "put yourself in his place."

Although prompted by a sense of the justice of availing of the opportunity to say a word in defence of those whose records have left their names unpopular, the writer is satisfied that their vindication has been delayed too long to influence some whose opinions are hereditary, and have never been modified by the softening effects of research.⁴⁶

One who has given his attention to historical collections, and has completed series of the letters of the Signers, the Generals, and the prominent actors of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, has naturally sought for information as to their inner, as well as their printed lives, and incidentally as to

⁴⁶ It appears proper to say that these sentiments, — not influenced by any personal considerations, — are somewhat contrary to the writer's earlier and more crude convictions, derived from antecedents, in that period, and from the early settlement of New York. identified with the popular cause, and often then and since by succession, under the union of the States, aiding — sometimes effectively — in its civil service, and in every war.

those of their cotemporaries, and of the circumstances which governed all of them.

This naturally inspires a comparison with the more familiar ones of their successors, and of their relative administration of public trust. It may even induce a conjecture as to the result — if it were possible to make the experiment — of placing the members of the Congress of 1776, in the seats of a few of its recent representatives. The alternative, by a substitution of many of our present for those past law-makers, would give occupation for a stronger imagination, in realizing the uses of the modern appliances of legislation in those time-honored chairs.

Were such transpositions of men of the present for those of that important crisis possible, might it not be less difficult, even after a century of brilliant national prosperity, affording opportunities to individuals which few then enjoyed, and a condensation of events which no other nation has probably ever witnessed in a similar period, to select a substitute for Sir John Johnson, were he all that vague tradition and prejudice has pictured him to be, using every appliance that he is said to have resorted to in seeking to claim an inheritance of which he felt himself unjustly deprived, than to discover a second Washington, deferring compensation, neglecting, in his negation of self, his own ample estate, to battle to secure the property of others, subjecting himself to the jealousy of those who coveted his honors, but not the cares and exposure⁴⁷ which earned them,

⁴⁷ TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ., GENERAL, &c.,
SIR :

WHEREAS, David Matthews, Esq., stands charged with dangerous Designs and treasonable Conspiracies against the Rights and Liberties of the United Colonies of America. We do, in Pursuance of a certain Resolve of Congress of this Colony of the twentieth day of June, instant, authorize and request you to cause the said David Matthews to be with all his papers forthwith apprehended and secured, and

devoting his manhood to his country, and finally epitomising his life, as an example to the temporarily refractory troops at Newburg, by saying — when compelled to resort to his glasses in deciphering his conclusive appeal to their patriotism and endurance — “You see gentlemen, that I have not only grown gray, but blind, in your service.”

To write the name of Washington is a temptation to the digression of an American pen, even when proposing to speak more specially of those whom he conquered, and only incidentally of the victors.

Collectors of unprinted Historical Material — often classed as Autographs — were long accustomed to attach some importance, in discerning the character and surroundings of the writer, both to his manner of expression, and his chirography. This theory has been sustained by many able authorities, including Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell, formerly of the Astor Library.

that returns be made to us of the manner in which this Warrant shall be executed in order that the same may be made known to the said Congress.

Given under our hands this twenty-first day of June, 1776. PHILIP LIVINGSTON,

JOHN JAY,
GOV. MORRIS.

General Greene is desired to have the within Warrant executed with precision and exactness, by one o'clock the ensuing morning, by a careful officer.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, *June 20, 1776.*

G. WASHINGTON.

LONG ISLAND, *June 22d, 1776.*

In obedience to the within Order and Warrant, I sent a Detachment of my Brigade under the Command of Col. Vernon, to the house of the within named David Matthews, Esq., at Flat Bush, who surrounded his house and seized his person precisely at the hour of one this morning. After having made him a Prisoner, diligent search was made after his Papers but none could be found, notwithstanding great care was taken that none of the Family should have the least opportunity to remove or destroy them.

NATHANIEL GREENE.

THIS PAPER, if earlier discovered, should have been appropriate additional material for “Minutes of the Trial and Examination of Certain Persons in the Province of New York, charged with being Engaged in a Conspiracy against the Authority of the Congress and the Liberties of America.” Printed in London, by I. Bew, in 1786, and reprinted in an edition of one hundred copies, entitled “Minutes of Conspiracy against the Liberties of America,” by John Campbell, in Philadelphia, 1865, describing the details of “the Hickey Plot” for the poisoning of Washington,

Philadelphia Dec 7th 1790

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 26th ult came to my hands last night. — If the information of Capt. M'Brat be true, the issue of the Expedition against the Indians did indeed prove unfortunate; and disgraceful to the Troops who suffered themselves to be ambascaded. — The relation of this event carries with it, I must confess, the complexion of truth — yet, I wish suspend my opinion until I hear something more of the matter. — The force which was employed against these hostile Indians (or the drawing out of which was authorized) ought to have bid defiance to the opposition of a thousand of them, because it was calculated for, ^{undoubtedly} and under the expectation of, meeting a larger number, if there was to terminate the dispute. —

It gives me pleasure to learn from you, the friendly sentiments of Capt. M'Brat; and with you I think, they merit cultivation, but he has not been candid in his acc^t of the conduct of Gen. P. Clair, nor doing justice in his representation of matters at Mushingham. — It is notorious, that he used all the art and influence ~~and~~ of which he was possessed, to prevent any treaty being held; — and that, except in a small degree, Gen. P. Clair aimed at no more land by the Treaty of Mushingham than had been ceded by the preceding Treaties. —

With sentiments of very great regard
+ friendship — I am, Sir,
Y^r most Obed^t & affect^d Serv^t
His Excell^{ty}

Any even fancied value in this belief, is becoming obsolete as applicable to later correspondence, in an unprecedented progress, crowding the events of life, and increasing the value of the hour. Rapidity of thought and action, now conveyed upon paper involves brevity, curtails compliment, and disregards form.

In the day when magazines were scarcely known, newspapers were small and rare, devoted principally to advertisements, with current events condensed, and even discussion by tracts occasional ; a letter, as a comprehensive means of communication, was an important channel of intelligence. Its dignified foolscap, or "letter size ;" emblazoned with water line, and adorned by a gilt edge, was covered by a carefully selected "quill," with at least three pages of public or private

by that man, one of his Life Guards, who was executed. Governor Tryon, who was quartered on the *Duchess of Gordon*, a vessel lying in the harbor — and singularly named after the lady whom Gen. Staats Long Morris, the loyalist member of a patriot family, married — was supposed to be the instigator ; the medium was David Matthews, the Mayor, who admitted supplying money at least, for arms, and who was sentenced to death, but reprieved and sent to Connecticut, from whence he escaped ; the method to poison Washington with green peas which were provided, and on being tested on some poultry, proved fatal ; and the result to be a rising in arms, in case of success. It was detected by the disclosure made through his house-keeper, the daughter of Samuel Frances, the innkeeper at the corner of Broad and Pearl, where Washington afterwards bid adieu to his officers. The seat of the conspiracy, was Cortie tavern, between "Richmond Hill," "Bayard's Woods," and "Lispensard's meadow," near the now intersection of Spring and Wooster streets. This order of arrest was issued on the next day, only three days before Lord Howe's arrival, soon followed by the Battle of Long Island, the retreat of Washington, and the British occupation of the city, attended by the confusion in which, Matthews probably escaped. A trifling circumstance, the careful erasing of a word with a penknife, over which the word "within," is written in Washington's endorsement, displays the coolness and method in writing referred to, even at a moment when his life was beset by assassins. The other papers above alluded to as printed, were those of the Secretary of the Committee of Congress signing this order for arrest. The accompanying letter is from Richard Cumberland, the well known essayist and author of many plays and brochures, a retired Secretary of the Board of Trade, and apparently, from the contents of a number of letters from which it is selected, an attaché and purveyor of Lord George Germain, State Secretary, is addressed to William Woodfall, before the public at this period, and prosecuted by the Crown as the publisher of the "Letters

intelligence, conveyed in well formed characters, with dignified assurances of consideration and respect. It was generally closed with wax, and impressed with the seal, which then dangled from the writer's "fob," all in such form as to make it presentable to a friend, or to a neighborhood, according to its privacy or public import. Then conveyed in a "mastship" or packet, in a lumbering "stage-wagon," or by a private express, its receipt was a sensation, and it was generally preserved as an object of value, often to arise years afterwards, permanent from its solid material, and perhaps to find new appreciation in a historical collection, to solve a doubt, or suggest an inquiry.

Rare papers like rare paintings still command competition, showing continued appreciation. (Appendix E.)

Such was the "golden age" of the collectors only recently terminated by the Telegraph, where each *word* has a cost as well as a value ; the Postal Card, commanding condensation and

of Junius." He has an equally surviving recollection, as associated with the original Mr. Walter, of the *London Times*, in experiments in printing by steam.

SIR :

DRAYTON, *Tuesday Morning,*

Since I wrote to you and enclosed ye *Boston Gazette*, a messenger is arrived with ye news of ye reduction of forts Washington and Lee, and with despatches from ye General, which I make do doubt occasioned the publishing of an Extra Gazette last night. This intelligence would have been brought us to town directly, if Lord George had not been indisposed with a cold and swelled face, so that we shall not be in town till Friday morning. Anything in my power to communicate to you shall readily be done, and I am very sorry that my distance makes it not practicable by this opportunity. Ye loyal Mayor of New York has made his escape from Litchfield and returned to that City. He reports the situation of the people in Connecticut to be that of men heartily weary of their cause and its conductors. That the hospitals are miserably attended and served, where great numbers are lost for want of common care. That there are small, or no hopes, of another Army being raised, the eyes of the common people being generally open to their situation. That a sovereign contempt for their officers prevails universally, that they say Lee (Gen. Charles) will not engage for fear of being taken and hanged and that ye fame and popularity of Gen. Washington is greatly gone down.

Many particulars may occur worthy the public notice when I return to town and let me by my letters, &c.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obedient Ser^{vt},

Mr. William Woodfall.

R. CUMBERLAND.

disclaiming privacy, and the Monograph, with such Napoleonic terseness and brief detail as is necessary to intelligibility with little regard to form. These last appliances tended in our recent war, to condense such full narratives of action as had been usual in the past, leaving it to the comprehensive and indispensable newspapers, published in keeping with the progress of the age, and to their correspondents to form the public sentiment of its course and results as they appeared to them. It remains for the government to perfect its history, by instituting a careful analysis of such narrative, and by the use of the public records, the last of which is believed to be now in progress, and if so will correct many errors, known to have often unavoidably crept into more hastily prepared impressions.

At the period now referred to, such notable persons in its history as Washington, Sir Henry Clinton, Greene, Cornwallis, and Gates — when dispensing with the services of aid or secretary — and, in fact, all educated persons, from sovereign to citizen, found time to convey their thoughts in letters thus carefully expressed and gracefully executed, as though to combine in both contents and form, a courtesy to the person addressed, and to suggest if not to prove, that the writer was, as a “gentleman of the old school,” at least “to all polite.” Perhaps, letters of this period which are preserved, commend in their *ensemble* this style, which is necessarily passing away from the causes referred to.

At least it recalls its recollection with respect, to say that it everywhere characterizes the manner of communicating the plainest sentiments by Washington ! The large number of his letters, still carefully preserved, show his industry ; while their existence witnesses the cotemporary appreciation of one who

used "not dim enigmas doubtful to discern," but expressed himself in "simple truths that every man may learn."* How so prominent a character, overwhelmed with active duties, often in temporary quarters and with few conveniences — but always with assistants about him to perform the manual part of the work — should largely from preference, with his own hand find opportunity to correspond with the Government, its members, governors of States, his generals and officers of every grade, his family and personal friends, the representatives of foreign governments and interests, even with citizens scarcely known to him — but alive to the value of their own wants or suggestions — all with courtesy, uniformity, and neatness, is as remarkable as the variety of the topics and the smallness of the material for subsequent criticism.

These letters collected would seem manually the work of a clerkly copyist rather than originals, the brain and hand work of the founder of a great nation, simply recording, even while creating, much of its history, amidst conflict and doubt. Many of these have found their place in print, all might be condensed with advantage, into a sort of complete letter writer for the use of schools.

With a character naturally strong, developed by a capable and devoted mother, an ordinary education and the adventurous experience of his youth, Washington is marked, by a course of life, ever leading upward and onward. While largely controlling the country he had helped so materially to create, he was ready to entertain and use what he considered adaptable to present circumstances, from the experience of wise men of all periods, refined in the crucible of his own broad common sense.

* Applied from an early poem of William Allen Butler.

Even his conclusions, enforced by such admitted and successful experience, were not always accepted. He had passed to power through triumphal arches raised by a nation's gratitude, to hold it with a people, and even his cabinet, divided as to his policy; and to resign it, and return like Cincinnatus to his plough, with an expressed sense of relief. If so living now, he would be rewarded by the universal thanks of *those familiar with his name and service*, which did not fully attend him, when two factions disputed over his policy, and many beset him from interest or for place. The highest popularity not spasmodic, attending all great men burthened with power and patronage in life, may be claimed to attach to their memory, after they are dead.

If this be so, his parting words when surrendering his highest and final authority — and which probably combined with his own judgment that of others⁴⁸ whom his confidence in itself proved also worthy of lasting attention — cannot, it would seem, be too often recalled as embodying past experience, with a far seeing warning for the future, increasing in value as it addresses a larger auditory.

At least an annual public reading of that Farewell Address, with that of the Declaration of Independence — to the fulfillment of the purposes of which it applies — and their study also in our schools, would appear to be necessary instruction to all who may aspire to public place. They show the birth and early progress of the Freedom they are expected to preserve. Some have always referred to them as opening truths which are already new to millions of unfamiliar ears. Those more accustomed to such teachings — could console themselves, if present, with the adage, “a good thing is worth repeating.” In them

⁴⁸ To Hamilton, Jay, Jefferson and Madison some of its inspirations were due.

every elector once familiar with their spirit would observe, that in traveling too rapidly in an engrossing present, we may leave behind such less recent but indispensable companions in our country's progress, to follow newer and sometimes falser lights.

By such constant recurrence to the grievances the latter recounts against the British Government, each hearer could discover what was renounced by the founders, and whether by any subsequent legislation, we have voluntarily subjected ourselves to any similar burthens.

With this conviction the accompanying, taken from a very rare cotemporary certified copy of the Declaration, more interesting since the damage to the original in its transfer, is inserted.

The Declaration of Independence, appears in effect an ably drawn and dignified recital of grievances imposed by Parliament, and which had become intolerable to a people growing in intelligence and importance. Its incisive tone, and confident assertion, were well calculated to reach an auditory of various interests scattered in thirteen colonies, differing in population, antecedents and interests, and to arouse them to concerted action.

It rejects the further control of the makers of existing laws, while it suggests no substitution of better ones, evidently with the intention of leaving that duty, with the details of Confederate action, to the future representatives of a free people. Its value would appear to be in the position it asserted at a time when the hope of success appeared dark, and in recording the opinion of its patriot founders as to what were then held to

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN, in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's GOD entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the Causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Governments long established, should not be changed for light and trifling Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing insensibly the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferer of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former System of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inalienable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depositories of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean Time, exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution,

and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

For granting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same abominable Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection, and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Fiercely, farcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our Fellow-Citizens, taken Captive on the high Seas, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions.

In every Stage of these Oppressions we have petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nox have been warning in Attention to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time, of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which would inevitably irritate our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour.

John Hancock.

GEORGIA, {	Boston Convention, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.	VIRGINIA, {	George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thos. Jefferson, Francis Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Corier Braxton.	DELAWARE, {	Cesar Rodney, Geo. Read, Hm. King.	MARSHWESSETT- BAY, {	Saml. Adams, John Adams, Bart. Treat Paine, Elihu Gerry.
NORTH-CAROLINA, {	Wm. Hooper, Hugh Hreer, John Pam.			NEW-YORK, {	Phel. Livingston, Fran. Lewis, Lewis Morris.	RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE, &c. {	Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.
SOUTH-CAROLINA, {	Edmond Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Arthur Middleton.	PENNSYLVANIA, {	Robt. Morris, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Gen. Clymer, Jer. Bussell, Geo. Taylor, James H. Mifflin, Geo. Roy.	NEW-JERSEY, {	Richd. Stockton, Thos. Witherspoon, Fran. Hopkinton, John Hart, Abner Clark.	CONNECTICUT, {	Roger Sherman, Saml. Hays, Junr., Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.
MARYLAND, {	Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll, of Car- rollton.			NEW-HAMPSHIRE, {	Joshab. Bartlett, Wm. Wapole, Matthew Taborian.		

IN CONGRESS, JANUARY 18, 1777.

THAT an authenticated COPY of the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY, with the Names of the MEMBERS of CONGRESS, subscribing the same; be sent to each of the UNITED STATES, and that they be deputed to have the same put on RECORD.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Allen B. Williamson

John Hancock

John Hancock

be wicked impositions by legislation, under color of law.⁴⁹ Our present legislation therefore, is subject to a comparison with that of the obnoxious Parliament as there specially denounced, as well as to discover the extent and value of the improvements it is making under the present limit Congress attaches to its power. In this view it may be considered the chart by which the ship of state was expected by them to be navigated. Either to appreciate the history of the details in which that power originated, or its use in the present and future it would appear that education in our past was indispensable to every citizen, and that it was especially the duty of those who inherited their rights from the founders, to qualify themselves not only to understand and protect the enjoyment of the legacy bequeathed to them, free from the effects of any alleged abuses of legislation, but to interest themselves, to arouse a similar sentiment in those who have rapidly joined them. Not to recall as an empty phrase, but to illustrate, that *Eternal Vigilance is the price of liberty*, by observing the proceedings of all bodies acting with delegated power, and if practicable, by wisely influencing the discretion with which that authority is conferred, by the individual citizen.

⁴⁹ These grievances urged against the Bills of Parliament for "the better peopling of the Colonies," in the Congress of 1774, show that England was then charged with transporting a material she desired to be rid of, more dreaded than the "Hessians" so unanimously denounced a few years later. The laws of the Colonies then deprived them of every privilege beyond that of residence.

"That it was too well known that in pursuance of divers Acts of Parliament *great numbers of Fellows who have forfeited their lives to the Public, for the most atrocious crimes, are annually transported from home to these Plantations.* Very surprising, one would think, that *Thieves, Burglars, Pickpockets and Cutpurses*, and a herd of the most flagitious Banditti upon earth should be sent as agreeable companions to us." * * * "But the acts were intended for *the better peopling of the Colonies!* And will thieves and murderers be conducive to that end? What advantage can we reap from a Colony of unrestrainable Renegadoes? Will they exalt the glory of the crown? * * * Can Agriculture be promoted when the wild Boar of the Forest breaks down our Hedges and pulls up our Vines? * * How injurious

At the present time, with a population swollen by emigration in a single year beyond its great natural increase, by nearly three-quarters of a million, the growing importance of the teaching of history in all our schools would seem to impress itself on all who desire to preserve our integrity. Many are coming to us naturally ignorant of our past and present and its cost to our forefathers and value to us and to them, and who cannot become parts of a homogeneous population advantageously until they have accepted intelligently our institutions in place of those under which they were born, and to which they were possibly hostile, rejecting as impracticable a dual nationality.

A knowledge of American history would appear as requisite as those simple elements of education which enable the elector—and perhaps future ruler—to read an amendment of a constitution, on which by a steady extension of the privileges won in that struggle, he is soon qualified to vote. All details of the past—on a more liberal construction of some of which it is hoped that this use of these papers may possibly throw a ray of additional light, more useful than that of their earlier cremation, which some weary reader may already consider—should be constantly perfected and studied, even amidst the engrossing activity of the present.

does it seem to free one part of the Dominions of the Plagues of Mankind and cast them upon another? Should a law be proposed to take the poor of one Parish, and billet them upon another, would not all the world but the parish to be relieved, exclaim against such a project as iniquitous and absurd? Should the numberless Villains of London and Westminster, be suffered to escape from their Prisons, to range at large and depredate any other parts of the Kingdom, would not every man join with the Sufferers and condemn the measures as hard and unreasonable * * * *There are thousands of honest men, laboring in Europe at four pence a day, starving in spite of all their efforts, a dead weight to the respective parishes to which they belong; who without any other qualifications than Common Sense, Health and Strength, might accumulate estates amongst us, as many have done already. These, and not the others, are the men that should be sent over, for the better peopling the Plantations."*

Such information is constantly becoming more valuable to a country wholly unprecedented in history in its absolute reliance upon the patriotism, education, common sense, and mutual concession of its citizens, as a guide for the future, the success of which is necessarily based on such knowledge of the past, on wide spread intelligence, a mutual adaptation, and regard for its founders and its early traditions. If any return were expected, for the labor of compiling and feebly annotating them, beyond an impression that perhaps "the deed in the doing it savors of worth;" it would be most acceptable in the evidence that they had been the means of impressing upon some earnest reader, the fact, even if controverting one of Mr. Herbert Spencer's theories, that *education only* can open the knowledge of the origin of a nation, inspire a proper pride in its progress and insure its permanency. (Appendix B.)

That intelligence and ignorance have rarely existed long together without one asserting the control. That while some particles of this great aggregate — content to float like the smaller esculant, on the surface of a seething caldron, relying on an exaggerated estimate of their weight, perpetuity and value, by their temporary elevation — above larger roots — may sneer at such researches, as to the truly great men, and the earlier unsuccessful aspirants, long since buried underground; as unnecessary to uneducated citizenship, and disparaging to spontaneous statesmanship; it has been the universal testimony of men of broader development and experience, that nothing can give a greater facility to a person of natural capacity, in judging of present events, than the appreciative study of those of the past. He can then discover many old masks on the faces of new actors on the public stage, and that they are often too large for the new wearer. That the best critical analysis applicable to new theo-

ries of government, is based upon a knowledge of their success or failure in earlier times.

That few things are on investigation discovered to be purely original, and that many projects have always been sustained by facts, some by fiction, and others by selfish interest. To prepare himself by study, using the ample means supplied for education or reading, would then appear to be the natural means of availing of the privilege every American enjoys. With these we readily discover the relative progress of nations, that where intelligence is habitually developed, it results as a necessity in the prosperity for the many ; or where neglected, all others are subordinated to the advantage of the few.

By such research it is easy to discover that there have been many political orators in the country, since the days of Patrick Henry, and many financiers, since Robert Morris, but none who more faithfully devoted available talents to the public. That there have also been many manipulations and fluctuations in finance since their time, in which fortunes changed in ownership, and rulers of the Change rose and fell. That there have been political questions and popular uprisings, involving bitter feeling, and threatening violence, in which the sober, common sense of the country — much of it grounded on the study of the similar crises in the past — has arisen in its might, come to the front, and with a strong hand torn the excited actors apart. It can be seen by reflection that to continue to accomplish this, the body politic must continue in vigorous health. That it demands no less care than in its youth, that like the human system, it requires the healthy circulation of the blood in every organ, to insure vigorous manhood and well preserved longevity.

That knowledge, equally divided, is the only practicable and lasting communism, and that the crafty demagogue, as a cunning alchemist, with ignorance as the metal to be fused and mingled with rejected theories, proposes a panacea to satisfy the cravings of all, and scatter wealth,⁵⁰ without intelligence, industry, or thrift, while he knows that by the substitution of intelligence and education he would in time produce the results to which he claims attention by pretending to seek, but in doing so feels that he must expose the empty charlatanism of a distribution of money without that of the elements that would continue the equality of its division; unless accompanied by that of education and its frequent companion, thrift, valuable qualities calculated to ensure its care and increase.

Those who voluntarily assume the labor and outlay, incurred in the management of those princely private charities, which make New York, even alone, an asylum for the world's unfortunates, can give practical testimony, both as to the immense increasing clientage which presses for relief, and the very large proportion it includes of those who have never profited by those accessories to self protection from chronic destitution. (Appendix C.)

⁵⁰ This anecdote of Herrmann the Magician, in a St. Louis newspaper simply illustrates the relative value of many new theories. After reaching the market he walked up to a huckster stand kept by a credulous old German named Mrs. Orf, asking her, as he looked over her stock of provisions, whether the eggs she had on hand were good.

"Yes," replied the old lady, "they are the freshest eggs in the market. If you don't think so just break one and see for yourself."

The magician picked up the egg and broke it open. To her astonishment three ten-dollar gold pieces rolled from the broken shell, which she grabbed at convulsively, *but Herrmann was too quick for her and pocketed the money*, while she gesticulated wildly and insisted that he should return it on the spot. Instead of complying with her request, however, he broke another egg, from which four ten-dollar gold pieces rolled out among the vegetables. This was too much for Mrs. Orf, who told him *to leave instantly as she had no more eggs to waste*.

Dr. Pollock, in a recent essay, has told us that "The ultimate object of natural science is to predict events — to say with approximate accuracy what will happen under given conditions. Every special department of science occupies itself with predicting events of a particular kind; note, also, that each science occupies itself only with those conditions which are material for its own purposes." The laws of science naturally govern both men and nations. While all of their details are too unlimited for the capacity of a single mind, it would appear that each of those controlled by them may realize in his own experience, some valuable developments without assuming to devote himself to any specialty. In a like manner, some study of the rise and progress of government, and of the conditions which have influenced prosperity or decadence, may cause the reader to feel that he is more capable of "predicting events of a particular kind," such as those incident to the homogeneous association of men for the difficult task of government. But, while the study of science may be properly divided, does it not seem that in the constant observation of every detail of the administration of a republican government, where each citizen is equally interested in its safety and success, if not in its control, all should devote their relative capacity, in seeking to apply to it all those principles which have proved to have been "conditions which are material" to perpetuity in former experience, and to reject such errors as have often resulted in national disaster? ⁵¹

⁵¹ A widely read Journal of the day would appear to confirm the value of uniting the progress of those material "conditions" in enquiring as to those of the great metropolis: "Are there no dangers to-day? Is the tax levy a myth, with its ten millions for salaries? Are our officials models of purity, capacity, and fidelity? Are public works conducted with economy? Is the administration of municipal affairs prudent and business like? If so, let us continue to think about reform, after the politicians have arranged the division of the spoils; let us hold meetings, appoint committees, pass resolutions, after the succession to the lucrative municipal offices has been decided upon."

It is repeating a possibly forgotten truth, that Rome was inwardly the weakest in the zenith of her greatest outward prosperity, "when the sun" it was said "in its whole meridian course kissed her legionary eagles scattered over every clime." That its downfall occurred, when its people, palled by success, became luxurious and enervated, with a growing fondness for the appetible, but enfeebling confections, spread before them by political pastry cooks, and neglected the wholesome diet of substantial facts, on which the Conscript fathers subsisted while erecting the edifice, and which they prescribed for the nourishment of their posterity.

The inference of a matter of fact citizen, when told how "Nero" had "fiddled when Rome was burning," "that he must have been very fond of music to lose so grand a spectacle" might apply to all of us who in neglecting to take an interest in passing events are uninformed to what extent we are excelling Rome in our progress and whether we are avoiding *all* of the errors which finally culminated in her downfall.

Another prosperous one, borne rapidly along by the present luxurious appliances, may only glance upon the Obelisk, impressed with the obligation conferred by its generous gift, and skillful transportation to a new world, and conjecture whether the Egyptian or Roman chariots, it looked down upon for ages after its erection, compared in finish and comfort, with a modern brougham; but not whether Western Union, Union Pacific, or any other Union, will stand as erect and last as long — through the succession of long dynasties of Ptolemies and Cæsars to that of "City Fathers," without similar care and scientific assistance.

The correspondent at Rome of the "New York Evening Post" recently said "Brescia is still excited by the great theme of

Arnaldo. But we are getting a little too much of this historical archæology. Manuta is preparing to observe the nineteenth centennary of Virgil; Arezzo will soon keep that of Guido Monaco, the inventor of musical notes; Arpim that of Cicero, and Urbino that of Raphael. Some one sagely observes "that instead of studying so intently the history of great Italians dead, it were better to improve the present generation, and expect great deeds from those who live."

Although it is true that Italy has not in later generations equalled those of the past in producing additions to her long line of illustrious names; and that her progress in this has been outstripped by many nations, unborn when she was already grey, it is proper to remember her heavy fall in the race of destiny, and how slow the recovery is.

If the traveler in that classic land still finds himself rather dreaming of her former greatness than awakened to evidences of a new progress, would it not appear that it was therefore more especially needed to recall past triumphs, to inspire in a later generation a spirit of pride, a desire to emulate, and a search for the appliances with which it was secured. At least it would seem natural to us, living in a country unpeopled by civilization at the time when they were wearing its laurels, to feel grateful that we are able to profit by the results of their early labors, which we enjoy in our schools, galleries and industries, and that each remembrance of their name, recalling their example may perhaps inspire imitation of their progress. That in their own land the persistence in thus recording those memories, must with wider educational preparation, in time incite many additional aspirants, to the fame of those whose self erected monuments tower so near them, and still inspire such efforts, in keeping their memory green.

Have not such revivals of the past, often held to be sentimental, a practical use? What reflecting man can pause near that Obelisk without recalling its wierd history, the scenes it has witnessed, and the eyes that have looked upon it in its forty centuries, the changes of faith, dynasties, and conditions of the human race which it records but of which it cannot speak? He may study its rugged silence, read there the history, the progress, vicissitudes and relative perpetuation of men and things, and gain a lesson of the littleness of a single life, which passes away without some honored record, only adding another to the billions who have tread beneath its shadow.

Nearly three-quarters of a century ago Joseph Delaplaine, of Philadelphia, an early appreciator of the association between that ancient republic and our own, then young; at least in the coincidence of the early development of greatness, said—with an uninterrupted flow of enthusiasm—in the prospectus of the “Collection of the Portraits of Distinguished Americans,” which still usefully recalls his own name: “With a pride similar to his who, in the mansion of his ancestors, loves to dwell upon the venerable array of their portraits which surrounds him; and, by the almost living glances which dart from the canvas, feels himself unconsciously awed to virtue, will the unborn citizens of this expanding hemisphere, day after day, delight to sojourn amidst the forms of the *fathers of their country*, and depart from the exhibition with newer and stronger aspirations after virtuous renown! ‘I have often,’ to quote the language of the historian of the Jugurthinian war, ‘heard that Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, and other illustrious men of our city, were accustomed to declare, when they looked upon the portraits of their ancestors, that they felt their minds most vehemently ex-

cited to virtue. Not, indeed, that the impression or the figure produced such powerful effects upon them, but by the recollections of the achievements of these great characters, that a flame was created in their breasts not to be quelled until they should have reached an equal elevation of fame and glory.' 'The history of such men,' says the learned translator of Plutarch, 'is a continuous lesson of practical morality,' and what could be a more pleasing and impressive history of this country than that which would be exhibited in the well-arranged portraits of those by whom its moral and political grandeur was founded and raised to perfection? The countenance of a Washington would mark the epoch of its military, and of a Franklin of its philosophical glory; and all the galaxy of genius around them, while furnishing the materials for memory to work upon, *would create new heroes, and stimulate new sages, new statesmen and new orators.*"

"When time shall have swept away the splendid train of our earliest philosophers, statesmen and warriors, to swell the gathering of the grave; when the tongue of genius shall moulder in gloomy silence; when the eye of the orator shall be closed in darkness, and the spiritual fires of its glance no longer kindle the dormant intellects around; when the warrior's arm shall be sinewless, and by the side of his decaying form the sword of his triumphs shall lie rusting; when the patrons of the soil shall have become an ingredient in its physical amalgama; *a generous and grateful posterity will rank amongst the first of its public institutions*, that which will afford them, in effects, the delights of a sweet and familiar intercourse with beings endeared to them by the brilliance of their talents, and their virtues, as well as by the benefits which they conferred upon the land of their birth."

Since this enthusiastic patriot thus wrote, with many of his subjects still alive, a large portion of a century has given us better light than he possessed !

Many had then been born under the sway of a government which they once loving, had lived to hate, and doubtless the most modest of those who had aided in its downfall hoped that their names would survive, often recalled in history and the succession of their descendants.⁵² They witnessed, as it were, the setting out of a small train, at moderate speed, which we see vastly extended by increase and emigration, wheeling at a terrific speed over a widely extended track. One later accession, that of California, with nearly 189,000 square

⁵² Horatio Seymour a life long appreciator and collector, of the records of the achievements of those who opened the way to the many honors that have been conferred upon or offered to him, in reply to an invitation to unite in the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the ancient town of Yonkers — a very interesting occasion with which the contributor as an old resident of the neighborhood was gratified in being remembered, in its management — has lately written to its Mayor some valuable truths sustaining these impressions.

“ I regret that the state of my health will not allow me to attend the Bi-Centennial Celebration at Phillipse Hall at Yonkers. It is gratifying to learn that throughout our State there is shown a desire to mark with monuments spots of historic interest, and to collect and preserve all things which throw light upon the history of the past.

These things not only show but they create a spirit of patriotism, they give value and interest to the scenes which they mark or illustrate. By them the past speaks to the present. They tell us much of the history of early events ; they teach us our duties, and create higher standards of patriotism and virtue.

Monuments, historical societies, and all arrangements to collect and preserve papers and objects relating to the past, not only teach us of the acts and virtues of the dead, but they also show the character of the living and mark the civilization of the people. Monuments in enduring stone have for many centuries been silent but potent teachers of duty and devotion to the public welfare. Even now, after the lapse of many centuries, if their time-worn remains were swept away, the world would feel the loss of objects which remind us of our duties to the public.

Heretofore we have reason to mourn the want of historical collections throughout our State which would show its citizens had a just sense of the great and varied events of its history. This dishonored not the dead but the living. Your celebration, and others of a like character, prove that our citizens are waking up to their duties, and mean to make the public familiar with its events, the most varied and far reaching of any portion of our country.”

miles of territory, over 68,000 more than the whole of Great Britain, best illustrates the development of her rebellious child.

By the suppression of the Tory or his departure, by the absorption of those men of figure who then largely owned the colonies or controlled their affairs, by the extension of a limited franchise to one unbounded and unprecedented in its beneficence, by the want of much consideration for family service, in public affairs, and by the omission to a great extent of any veneration for official position, we are all now equals before the law ; coequal sovereigns like the old Electors Palatine who chose by vote the Emperor. Still those patriot fathers would seem to be the parents by adoption of every citizen, particularly of those who are coming to wear the crown which they created, at least until by the prosperity open to most who seek it, they in turn, create positions, dating from their birth or arrival in the New World in which each one, equalling the usefulness of those predecessors may claim to be the " Rudolph of Hapsburg " of his own family, by contributing as honored a portrait and name as theirs to posterity.

The acquisition of property, gives an additional interest in the nationality to each one who achieves an ownership, however small, and its distribution amongst many in such divisions is the greatest guarantee of perpetuity. A State will be found, in all time, to have been most prosperous, where property was most divided, and where the extremes of the very rich, and the very poor, are exceptional, for the reason that the hundreds of one man by the laws of nature are as valuable to him as the millions of another. But there is a common security under a thoroughly popular form of government, that even the man who owns one dollar, is a stockholder. We watch our investment, in all other securities, and if in stocks study the daily

prices. Do we sufficiently realize that they are mere "connections" with the honest administration and prosperity of the government, and exist in its permanency alone? Would it not seem that any vigilance displayed, in the selection of trustees of those lesser securities, with a view to their prosperity and honor, must apply with greater force to that of the government, which is the trunk line.

If a stockholder suspects that his property is controlled by directors forced upon him by bargain and traffic, by primaries to which he has no access, by organizations, machines or rings formed to control the agents and property of any corporation, in the interests of a self-selected few, would he not if he had read of it, conceive that it was in danger of returning to a class government, more dangerous than the one that was annihilated by the Revolution of 1776?

If the air were tainted by the fumes of a conflagration would he not seek for its location and flood it with water for the common good; and if it was filled with nauseous rumors of selfish, and even dishonest combinations, for the control of his corporate property, turn his attention to the necessity of vigilance and of putting trusted parties in its charge? All political history shows that two parties are necessary to a State, each a safety valve to the other, that a community is no sufferer by the parliamentary discussion of questions of policy, where its people differ, but that when such issues are avoided, by the fear of either or both parties, to assume a policy, then there is greater danger in combinations of the worst element in both, for impure and selfish legislation. That all coalitions have been looked upon with doubt, we gather from such history, that the most competent, are often the most modest, in claiming place, while all countries have been supplied with varied voluntary material for office and

power from the best, down to such as that which assassinated a president, because a worthless life seemed to him unfitting for reward, as a minister to Austria or consul to Paris !

Doubtless many cultivated readers, versed — as an example — in the teachings of Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall, perhaps from the absence of an appreciative taste, disregard the lessons of that history, of which most men, are unknowingly forming part, either by action or its neglect. All concede the value of patriotism, many are often critical as to its presence as an impulse ; possibly few consider that merely as an accomplishment it can be acquired by the study of its many results, or of the effects of its absence. A less cultivated but patriotic and shrewd observer like Mrs. Grundy—whose views have often become the reflex of public opinion—is in many cases more useful, than a more learned perfunctory and statistical manipulator. (Appendix D.)

In complying with his promise to the editor, the contributor has sought, in adding some material connected with his undertaking, to incidentally consider our progress in the eradication of the complaints against the government on which we were founded, and the uses we were making of a wonderful legacy, by following past history.

That gentleman's thoughtful note, at the end of his own contribution — as to the difficulties under which they have been loosely thrown together, gives the opportunity to say that he has neither seen the manuscript, nor is he responsible for its contents, its contribution being purely voluntary.

Not happening to have met either himself or General de Peyster since it was undertaken, and having no knowledge of what the latter had contributed to this accidentally triple association, he fears that in his friendly desire to aid in his natural

effort to vindicate the memory of his relative, he may have repeated or controverted some of the views, which he has doubtless, with his usual independency, asserted. In either such event, it has been his object to express the sympathy study teaches to humanity, as to the unfortunate fate and hardships of the Loyalists. In doing this he does not feel that he detracts from his own fealty to the government formed on their ruin, in which it is his pride to have been bred to feel the responsibility of aiding to hand it down, as a home of freedom wisely administered, to future generations. This explanation appears proper to account for any apparent want of cohesion, or accord, in the expression of individual, and therefore possibly conflicting opinion, in arriving at a common purpose, of recalling the memory of historical characters.

On a final reading of this contribution, it suggests some resemblance to a trunk hastily packed for a journey, with an opportunity for selection from a sufficient wardrobe, which when resorted to, is found to contain some articles better fitted for the seclusion of a private apartment, than for public use, and to lack, many others more adaptable, but improvidently left at home.

SPRING HOUSE, RICHFIELD,
September, 1882.





APPENDIX A.

COL. GUY JOHNSON'S LETTER (page 212a).

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

The following letter from Col. Guy Johnson to his uncle, is also found in Dr. Emmett's collection. It gives some particulars illustrative of the surroundings of both.

N. YORK, Feby. 10, 1773.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

I have just now had the pleasure of receiving your very kind letter of the 3d inst., with one from Dr. Dease*, another from Brother Claus, for which I am much obliged to them. It has vexed me a good deal to hear that your Votes did not go up early. They went by John Glen, and Gaine† assures me he has forwarded a sett since. As the titles of several bills are altered in the Committees, it may be necessary to acquaint you that the Road bill and money bill for building a Ct. House, &c., are passed through every form and the Tavern Bill, Swine Bill, Wolf Bill and Ferry Bill, will be in a very few days. You will find me voting on a side that some people might not expect. It will all be accounted for in due time, but is chiefly owing to certain difficulties imposed on the Governor. The other day they were for saddling a £50 per annum Salary, on the Judges of Circuit, to be paid out of our County. but after much difficulty, I got it laid general on the Province, Major Skene‡ is just going for Ireland. He has the other day got his place established as the County town. The Pacquet is arrived. All Peace at home. The General has got the King's leave to go to England, and will sail in June with his family. Haldemand§ comes to take the command; and Governor Tryon (it is said) will have the vacant Red Ribband. He has taken much pains about the Indian matters, Banyar|| advises to get an Act for Fairs and Markets in lieu of the Ordinance, but the Governor chuses the latter. In the Charter for the Church a description of the Glebe is absolutely necessary and how the right presentation should go. I hope you

* Dr. John Dease was an Executor and Trustee under Sir William's will.

† Hugh Gaine, editor of the *New York Mercury*, printed in Hanover Square; established in 1752.

‡ Col. Philip Skene was settled at Skenesborough (now Whitehall), and was actively employed by Burgoyne in his invasion.

§ Gen. Gage came in lieu of Haldimand.

|| Goldsboro Banyar.

will continue your Parental attention to Polly and the little ones, she is I believe surprised I stay so long and I eagerly wish to return. The girls are well and much esteemed. The like may be said with great truth of Sir John. He will return with me and doubtless lay before you, the final determination of the Family here, respecting his union which I see nothing to prevent. The lady* is a fine Genteel Girl, much esteemed as well on acco't of the goodness of her Temper, as of her uncommon abilities, and she is ready to follow him anywhere.

The man calls for my Letter, so that I can only beg a continuance of your correspondence, which yields me much real pleasure, and assure you once more of the Cordial Wishes I offer for your Health and happiness, and the true Affection with which I subscribe myself,

My dear Sir,

Your dutiful son and faithful servant,

G. JOHNSON.†

Sir Wm. Johnson, Bt.

APPENDIX B.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA (page 223).

The immense progress of America, attracting the attention of Europe, makes it the field for that observing travel, long confined to the seats of departed greatness. The Emperor of Brazil, Petermann, Nordenskjöld and a Baker Pacha, all notable in exploration, Hughes, Dean Stanley, Thackeray, Dickens, observers of character, the Prince of Wales, and Alexis and the Duke of Argyle, have come to us in late years; others are following, some of them less known but fully as competent, to view and estimate its reputed greatness. Dr. Mackenzie, an eminent specialist of London, has recently made a wide, rapid and intelligent exploration, and is now succeeded by Herbert Spencer, noted for the independence with which he has often asserted advanced ideas on questions intended to affect humanity. He who looks at himself in a glass, often derives a different impression from that of another, who disinterestedly criticises a portrait satisfactory to the owner. An interview, given to the public since the foregoing crude inferences were printed,‡ and arriving in some

* Miss Mary Watts, daughter of John Watts, Esq., of New York, to whom Sir John was married on the 20th of June following.

† Col. Guy Johnson was then a new Member of the Colonial Assembly. See Stone's "Sir William Johnson," vol. 2, page 359.

‡ *New York Times*, Oct. 20th.

cases at different conclusions, appears to be an unfinished sketch worthy to be hung by the side of the completed picture, to which Delaplaine referred. If in expressing his views, as a humanitarian, upon the progress of a sapling torn from the royal oak, any impression of national jealousy is suggested, is it not well to recall the truthful adage "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*." Mr. Spencer, with the appreciation wanting in the Obelisk, and with some of its experience derived from study of progressive races and their development. After speaking of inferential facts, being asked :

"Might not this misrepresentation have been avoided by admitting interviewers?" replies,

"Possibly; but, in the first place, I have not been sufficiently well; and, in the second place, I am averse to the system. To have to submit to cross examination, under penalty of having ill natured things said if one refuses, is an invasion of personal liberty which I dislike. Moreover, there is implied what seems to me an undue love of personalities. Your journals recall a witticism of the poet Heine, who said that 'when a woman writes a novel, she has one eye on the paper and the other on some man — except the Countess Hahn-hahn, who has only one eye.' In like manner, it seems to me that in the political discussions that fill your papers, everything is treated in connection with the doings of individuals — some candidate for office, or some "boss" or wire-puller. I think it not improbable that this appetite for personalities, among other evils, generates this recklessness of statement. The appetite must be ministered to: and in the eagerness to satisfy its cravings, there comes less and less care respecting the correctness of what is said."

"Has what you have seen answered your expectations?"

"It has far exceeded them. Such looks about America as I had looked into had given me no adequate idea of the immense developments of material civilization which I have everywhere found. The extent, wealth, and magnificence of your cities, and especially the splendor of New York, have altogether astonished me. Though I have not visited the wonder of the West, Chicago, yet some of your minor modern places, such as Cleveland, have sufficiently amazed me by the marvelous results of one generation's activity. Occasionally, when I have been in places of some 10,000 inhabitants, where the telephone is in general use, I have felt somewhat ashamed of our own unenterprising towns, many of which of 50,000 inhabitants and more, make no use of it."

"I suppose you recognize in these results the great benefit of free institutions?"

"Ah, now comes one of the inconveniences of interviewing. I have been in the country less than two months, have seen but a relatively small part of it, and but comparatively few people, and yet you wish from me a definite opinion on a difficult question."

"Perhaps you will answer, subject to the qualification that you are but giving your first impressions?"

Well, with that understanding, I may reply that, though free institutions have been partly the cause, I think they have not been the chief cause. In the first place, the American people have come into possession of an unparalleled fortune — the mineral wealth and the vast tracts of virgin soil producing abundantly with small cost of culture. Manifestly that alone goes a long way toward producing this enormous prosperity. Then they have profited by inheriting all the arts, appliances, and methods developed by older societies, while leaving behind the obstructions existing in them. They have been able to pick and choose from the products of all past experience, appropriating the good and rejecting the bad. Then, besides these favors of fortune, there are factors proper to themselves. I perceive in American faces generally, a great amount of determination — a kind of "do or die" expression; and

this trait of character, joined with a power of work exceeding that of any other people, of course produces an unparalleled rapidity of progress. Once more, there is the inventiveness which stimulated by the need for economizing labor, has been so wisely fostered. Among us in England there are many foolish people who while thinking that a man who toils with his hands has an equitable claim to the product, and if he has special skill may rightly have the advantage of it, also hold that if a man toils with his brain, perhaps for years, and, uniting genius with perseverance, evolves some valuable invention, the public may rightly claim the benefit. The Americans have been more far-seeing. The enormous museum of patents which I saw at Washington is significant of the attention paid to inventors' claims, and the Nation profits immensely from having in this direction (though not in all others) recognized property in mental products. Beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations. If along with your material progress there went equal progress of a higher kind, there would remain nothing to be wished."

"That is an ambiguous qualification. What do you mean by it?"

"You will understand when I tell you what I was thinking of the other day. After pondering over what I have seen of your vast manufacturing and trading establishments, the rush of traffic in your street cars and elevated railways, your gigantic hotels and Fifth-avenue palaces, I was suddenly reminded of the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, and recalled the fact that while there was growing up in them great commercial activity, a development of the arts which made them the envy of Europe, and a building of princely mansions which continue to be the admiration of travelers, their people were gradually losing their freedom."

"Do you mean this as a suggestion that we are doing the like?"

"It seems to me that you are. You retain the forms of freedom, but so far as I can gather, there has been a considerable loss of the substance. It is true that *those who rule you* do not do it by means of retainers armed with swords; but they do it through regiments of men armed with voting-papers, who obey the word of command as loyalty as did the dependents of the old feudal nobles, and who thus enable their leaders to override the general will and make the community submit to their exactions as effectually as their prototypes of old. It is doubtless true that each of your citizens votes for the candidate he chooses for this or that office from President downward, but his hand is guided by a power behind, which leaves him scarcely any choice. 'Use your political power as we tell you, or else throw it away,' is the alternative offered to the citizen. The political machinery as it is now worked has little resemblance to that contemplated at the outset of your political life. Manifestly, those who framed your Constitution never dreamed that 20,000 citizens would go to the poll led by a "boss." America exemplifies, at the other end of the social scale, a change analogous to that which has taken place under sundry despotisms. You know that in Japan, before the recent revolution, the divine ruler, the Mikado, nominally supreme, was practically a puppet in the hands of his chief Minister the Shogun. Here it seems to me that the 'sovereign people' is fast becoming a puppet which moves and speaks as wire-pullers determine."

"Then you think that republican institutions are a failure."

"By no means! I imply no such conclusion. Thirty years ago, when often discussing politics with an English friend, and defending republican institutions, as I always have done and do still; and when he urged against me the ill-working of such institutions over here; I habitually replied that the Americans got their form of government by a happy accident, not by normal progress, and that they would have to go back before they could go forward. What has since happened seems to

me to have justified that view ; and what I see now confirms me in it. America is showing on a larger scale than ever before that 'paper constitutions' will not work as they are intended to work. The truth, first recognized by Mackintosh, that 'constitutions are not made, but grow,' which is part of the larger truth that societies throughout their whole organizations are not made but grow at once, when accepted, disposes of the notion that you can work, as you hope, any artificially devised system of government. It becomes an inference that if your political structure has been manufactured, and not grown, it will forthwith begin to grow into something different from that intended — something in harmony with the natures of citizens and the conditions under which the society exists. And it evidently has been so with you. Within the forms of your Constitution there has grown up this organization of professional politicians, altogether un contemplated at the outset, which has become in large measure the ruling power."

"But will not education and the diffusion of political knowledge fit men for free institutions?"

"No. It is essentially a question of character, and only in a secondary degree a question of knowledge. But for the universal delusion about education as a panacea for political evils, this would have been made sufficiently clear by the evidence daily disclosed in your papers. Are not the men who officer and control your Federal, State, and municipal organizations — who manipulate your caucusses and conventions, and run your partisan campaigns — all educated men? And has their education prevented them from engaging in or permitting, or condoning, the briberies, lobbyings, and other corrupt methods which vitiate the actions of your administrations? Perhaps party newspapers exaggerate these things; but what am I to make of the testimony of your civil service reformers — men of all parties? If I understand the matter aright, they are attacking, as vicious and dangerous, a system which has grown up under the natural spontaneous working of your free institutions — are exposing vices which education has proved powerless to prevent."

"Of course, ambitious and unscrupulous men will secure the offices, and education will aid them in their selfish purposes; but would not those purposes be thwarted, and better government secured, by raising the standard of knowledge among the people at large?"

"Very little. The current theory is that if the young are taught what is right, and the reasons why it is right, they will do what is right when they grow up. But, considering what religious teachers have been doing these 2,000 years, it seems to me that all history is against the conclusion, as much as is the conduct of these well educated citizens I have referred to; and I do not see why you expect better results among the masses. Personal interests will sway the men in the ranks as they sway the men above them, and the education which fails to make the last consult public good rather than private good will fail to make the first do it. The benefits of political purity are so general and remote, and the profit to each individual so inconspicuous, that the common citizen, educate him as you like, will habitually occupy himself with his personal affairs, and hold it not worth his while to fight against each abuse as soon as it appears. Not lack of information, but lack of certain moral sentiments, is the root of the evil."

"You mean that people have not a sufficient sense of public duty?"

"Well, that is one way of putting it; but there is a more specific way. Probably it will surprise you if I say that the American has not, I think, a sufficiently quick sense of his own claims, and, at the same time, as a necessary consequence, not a sufficiently quick sense of the claims of others — for the two traits are organically related. I observe that you tolerate various small interferences and dictations which

Englishmen are prone to resist. I am told that the English are remarked on for their tendency to grumble in such cases; and I have no doubt that it is true."

"Do you think it worth while for people to make themselves disagreeable by representing every trifling aggression? We Americans think it involves too much loss of time and temper and doesn't pay."

"Exactly. That is what I mean by character. It is this easy going readiness to permit small trespasses because it would be troublesome or profitless or unpopular to oppose, which leads to the habit of acquiescence in wrong and the decay of free institutions. Free institutions can be maintained only by citizens, each of whom is instant to oppose every illegitimate act, every assumption of supremacy, every official excess of power, however trivial it may seem. As Hamlet says, there is such a thing as 'greatly to find quarrel in a straw' when the straw implies a principle. If, as you say of the American, he pauses to consider whether he can afford the time and trouble — 'whether it will pay' — corruption is sure to creep in. All these lapses from higher to lower forms begin in trifling ways, and it is only by incessant watchfulness that they can be prevented. As one of your early statesmen said: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." But it is far less against foreign aggressions upon national liberty that this vigilance is required than against the insidious growth of domestic interferences with personal liberty. In some private administrations which I have been concerned with, I have often insisted, much to the disgust of officials, that instead of assuming, as people usually do, that things are going right until it is proved that they are going wrong, the proper course is to assume that they are going wrong until it is proved that they are going right. You will find, continually, that private corporations, such as joint-stock banking companies, come to grief from not acting upon this principle. And what holds of these small and simple private administrations, holds still more of the great and complex public administrations. People are taught, and, I suppose, believe, that 'the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked;' and yet, strangely enough, believing this, they place implicit trust in those they appoint to this or that function. I do not think so ill of human nature; but, on the other hand, I do not think so well of human nature as to believe it will do without being watched."

"You hinted that while Americans do not assert their own individualities sufficiently in small matters, they, reciprocally, do not sufficiently respect the individualities of others."

"Did I? Here, then, comes another of the inconveniences of interviewing. I should have kept this opinion to myself if you had asked me no questions, and now I must either say what I do not think, which I cannot, or I must refuse to answer, which, perhaps, will be taken to mean more than I intend, or I must specify at the risk of giving offense. As the least evil I suppose I must do the last. The trait I refer to comes out in various ways, small and great. It is shown by the disrespectful manner in which individuals are dealt with in your journals — the placarding of public men in sensational headings, the dragging of private people and their affairs into print. There seems to be a notion that the public have a right to intrude on private life as far as they like; and this I take to be a kind of moral trespassing. It is true that during the last few years we have been discredited in London by certain weekly papers which do the like (except in the typographical display); but in our daily press, metropolitan and provincial, there is nothing of the kind. Then, in a larger way, the trait is seen in this damaging of private property by your elevated railways without making compensation; and it is again seen in the doings of railway governments, not only when overriding the rights of shareholders, but in dominating over courts of justice and State governments. The fact is that free institutions can be properly

worked only by men each of whom is jealous of his own rights, and also sympathetically jealous of the rights of others — will neither himself aggress on his neighbors, in small things or great, nor tolerate aggression on them by others. The Republican form of Government is the highest form of Government, but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature — a type nowhere at present existing. We have not grown up to it, nor have you."

"But we thought, Mr. Spencer, you were in favor of free government in the sense of relaxed restraints, and letting men and things very much alone — or what is called *laissez faire* ?

"That is a persistent misunderstanding of my opponents. Everywhere, along with the reprobation of government intrusion into various spheres where private activities should be left to themselves, I have contended that in its special sphere, the maintenance of equitable relations among citizens, governmental action should be extended and elaborated."

"To return to your various criticisms, must I then understand that you think unfavorably of our future ?"

"No one can form anything more than vague and general conclusions respecting your future. The factors are too numerous, too vast, too far beyond measure in their quantities and intensities. The world has never before seen social phenomena at all comparable with those presented in the United States. A society spreading over enormous tracts while still preserving its political continuity, is a new thing. This progressive incorporation of vast bodies of immigrants of various bloods has never occurred on such a scale before. Large empires, composed of different people, have, in previous cases, been formed by conquest and annexation. Then your immense plexus of railways and telegraphs tends to consolidate this vast aggregate of States in a way that no such aggregate has ever before been consolidated. And there are many minor co-operating causes unlike those hitherto known. No one can say how it is all going to work out. That there will come hereafter troubles of various kinds, and very grave ones, seems highly probable; but all nations have had, and will have, their troubles. Already you have triumphed over one great trouble, and may reasonably hope to triumph over others. It may, I think, be reasonably held that both because of its size and the heterogeneity of its components, the American nation will be a long time in evolving its ultimate form, but that its ultimate form will be high. One great result is, I think, tolerably clear. From biological truths it is to be inferred that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race forming the population, will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, and a type of man more plastic, more adaptable, more capable of undergoing the modifications needful for complete social life. I think that whatever difficulties they may have to surmount, and whatever tribulations they may have to pass through, the Americans may reasonably look forward to a time when they will have produced a civilization grander than any the world has known." Could this be so, were educated citizens largely in the majority, equally fitted to contend at the polls for a number of places necessarily limited in proportion to those who would seek them? Would the intense national individuality, when more widely educated then readily aggregate — as is correctly stated — by thousands, and delegate their power to any single man? Would not the competition of increased intelligence for office, govern success more by fitness, and cause a net to be drawn, with closer meshes over our political sea? On the solution of such questions the permanency of actual government of the people, *by the people hinges.*

APPENDIX C.

INEVITABLE EFFECTS OF A RAPID PROGRESS ON THE POSITION
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF EARLIER SETTLERS (page 225).

These institutions, involving and receiving great attention, and usually conducted with marked integrity and system, naturally include in their management, material as broad as their object. In many of them, may be prominently found the descendants of the original Dutch and English settlers, now rarely met with in the record of public trusts. Their influence and control, has mainly become gradually limited to these, and to their social and business connections, in private life. Any distinct influence, as a recognized or cohesive element, often found in communities, has been lost in the mighty wave of emigration and its increase, which where aggregated controls the selection of most of its representatives. This is more evident at points near to the place of its arrival, and it is necessarily free from the influence of such earlier tradition, and sentiment, as it may in time create in its own successors. Investigation develops such changes of authority in all history, as continuous as the rolling waves sometimes reaching the beach, at others breaking too early, from their acquired force. Under other institutions they are more frequently the result of conquest than of a friendly acceptance with unlimited legal hospitality, as an element of control. When Charles II — claiming under the exploration of the Cabots, in their second voyage in 1497, from their touching the mainland — presented a Dutch colony which he had never possessed, to his brother, the Duke of York, and it was conquered by his agent, Colonel Nicolls in August, 1664, the inhabitants were not only protected in all their rights, by that humane commander, but retained many local positions of authority, after the invasion. Its capture, caused a war between England and the Dutch Provinces, through which a William the Stadtholder of Holland, gradually developed as future King of England, and the loss of a colony by the Dutch was then compensated by the gaining of a crown by a Dutchman. That war was at its origin considered an ungrateful return for the kindness which both of those Princes had experienced when in exile, from the authorities of the Netherlands, unawed by Cromwell's displeasure. Colonel Nicolls, apparently infinitely superior to his master, was killed in a sea fight in that war in 1672, on the Duke of York's ship, while still remembered with affection here by those whom he had subdued. His munificent patron had rewarded him with a gift of £200! on surrendering his difficult and well administered Governorship. Before that conquest, England's early colonies about Nieu Amsterdam — some of them under its suzerance — had been a source of apprehension to its burghers. Their original institutions seemed to have been compassed by the example of their original home, and not to have been adapted

to the early extension of that toleration in their new one, to those who had fled to America to secure the liberty of conscience, the struggle for which had long desolated the Low Countries in Europe. All then visiting Nieu Amsterdam, the Dutch Records inform us, became subject to this rule "beside the Reformed Religions, no conventicles shall be holden in houses, barns, ships, woods or fields, under penalty of 50 guilders for each person, man, woman or child attending, for the first offence, double for the second, quadruple for the third, and, arbitrary correction for every other." This early exclusiveness was perhaps an omen of their own later exclusion to a great extent from the control of the public affairs of that ancient settlement once the seat of an almost universal prosperity and a type of practical "Home Rule" in the frugal and primitive administration of its public affairs. Of the six hundred grants for Manors and Estates, once held by them, a small portion remains in the possession of their descendants, if unoccupied, a heavy burthen, by the extravagant and often useless and premature assessments and onerous taxes constantly imposed upon it, in the employment of the labor of those *detained* by the small proportion of the outlay it receives, from an infinitely larger and more lasting reward, in the wide and bountiful field for its occupation in the less crowded Western territory.

Perhaps in time, some humane system may be discovered, to advise new comers of the inevitable law of supply and demand which controls the location of their probable success, and that it is governed by the area open for largely agricultural employment. The "Commissioners of Emigration" have reported a pleasant fact for the Western States: That two-thirds of the emigration, including the most provident, join them directly, led by that intelligence which perhaps had caused such former success, while one-third lingers on the sea-board, to compete for employment in crowded and expensive cities, causing the over competition often complained of, and in business revulsions accumulated distress.

APPENDIX D.

MRS. GRUNDY'S OBSERVATIONS AS TO UTOPIA (page 234).

In her recent "Observations in Utopia," Mrs. Grundy, as active as extended in her travels and researches, points out many defects in the administration of that model Republic as instructive to our own. She tells us how "Colonel Trusty, a watchful consul in Switzerland reported — and perhaps violated the rules of the department, in also disclosing, what every intelligent citizen has

long known to apply to many nationalities and cities of Europe — that some of the Cantons of Switzerland were shipping their convicts to Utopia, and suggested that an inspection for such contraband of peace, be made at the time of departure, to which no respectable passenger could apparently object. When some compatriots evidently without appreciation that every country has proved able to produce more criminals than its prosperity requires, remonstrated, a junior official replied, that the consul had been reprimanded, and were he not a meritorious veteran would be removed. Would it not be fair, in the absence of any evidence of the pressure of this intelligence upon the earliest Congress for action, to infer that the country *did* desire an accession of such criminals to the honest portion of its citizenship, and their closer proximity to their homes and families. Could this vital suggestion have been overlooked, especially by that successor who had first excelled even, the founder of this Republic in a temperate and frugal denial in the viands of the executive table, and had displayed his unparalleled clemency in restoring to rank so many dispensed with for its neglect by the judgment of their fellow officers — always a painful duty.

With a vast area of territory yet to be occupied, the quality as well as the extent of new accessions would seem to interest every citizen. The outrages daily recorded, rarely prove when investigated to be the acts of settled residents but generally of those of a floating and fungus growth who prefer to eat the grapes rather than to labor in the vineyard. Robbery, generally attended by the use of arms and often by the shedding of blood, does not seem to be deterred by the fear of a short and relatively comfortable confinement, with the hope of escape or pardon, by the influence of those perhaps more ready to overlook the wrongs of others, than they would be their own. The shooting of two policemen, at early evening, in a frequented village, while attempting to arrest three successful burglars, loaded with plunder secured in a neighboring town, within the writer's hearing, recalls the value of the Consul's suggestion, and the possibility of these very criminals, being of those he attempted to exclude; an apparently less effective inspection at landing has since been legalized."

"Can the thought be entertained, that with our Washington at the head of government, and substantially the "Father of his Country" he would if advised of it have neglected this warning, as to what would appear to affect the healthy development of any country."

"It would be interesting, if it were possible," she adds, "to hear the criticism of some modern legislation here, and the tracing of its results, by one of our own time honored statesmen—Benjamin Franklin for example—accustomed to be driven from place to place of meeting, legislating with a halter in plain view in case of failure, and surrounded by the hardships of war, and the need of means for its progress, yet with the whole country's best interests always steadily in view. It might provoke even him to mirth, to foreshadow that refinement of push pole navigation, coming as one of the results of a progress based on those sacrifices, when a "constituency" here would demand, in the face of the President's veto, an appropriation to render a stream navigable, which, on a careful inspection proved capable of being carried, in the dry season, in a box drain a foot square. It would have pleased him as a broad philanthropist, to know, that in a recent bill, a provision requiring such inspection hereafter, was a desirable feature, and probably still more so to learn that the value of the method resorted to in the State of New York, of vetoing sections in a bill, and so preserving the interests of proper subjects of legislation had suggested itself also to this Utopian Congress."

"Could so wise a patriot as Franklin, with such intelligence as he had necessarily acquired as to the material of war, have been expected to vote for example, for the

Utopian Pension Act, or other even humane legislation, not limited by provisions for the strictest personal examination of the claimant, by a responsible officer, supplied with ample evidence of identity and service, with power to test the common assertion that conjectured widows, have claimed in the names of soldiers, they have never seen, long lying in honored graves, and that constructive veterans possibly disabled by a bunion, acquired in too hastily retiring from active service, after the receipt of a bounty, are now in a large number of cases subsisting on an equal allowance with actual veterans."

"In our own country Adjutant General Stryker, of New Jersey, a zealous officer, who presents his resignation to each incoming Governor, and is never permitted to surrender a small salary for a large service, has, with much labor from scant State archives by exhaustive search, with little assistance, and small expense, condensed a roster of the Revolutionary service of every contribution from that fighting little State, from a major general to a wagoner. He has supplemented it, with a similar record of service in the last war, and in its inspection the long lists of "deserted," probably mainly of those who never intended to serve — mingled with longer ones of gallant veterans, many of whom fell in battle — is a source of surprise to the reader. I have suggested the preparation and use of such works here. Probably these desertions are not in excess of those of other states, in proportion to their population, but they would be a large numeral addition to the Subsistence Roll of an army. Such records for all the States would seem to be invaluable to a conscientious Pension Agent, or a vigilant investigator of fraudulent bounties or claims. They would be read with attention in Utopia."

"The action of the Viking of Bashwash, when in charge of the Naval Affairs of Utopia, in restoring to the school under control of his Department, a number of cadets who had resigned to avoid an investigation, under charges unfitting them if proved, for service as officers, was greatly disapproved by those who wished to continue to be proud of their Navy, and that of the honored Commander who in strongly protesting, lost the favor of his chief and even his official courtesies, as highly praised." She further says, "the latest amendment to the Constitution of Utopia, which was not passed without opposition, seems worthy of attention. It provides, that every citizen in demanding or collecting interest, rent or any other source of revenue, shall be hereafter required to exhibit to the person of whom payment is asked, at the time of such demand, a certificate to the fact that the creditor had voted at the last election, to be duly certified by the clerk of the Poll, or official evidence of a reasonable excuse, and all debtors, are forbidden to pay without such exhibition. It has already greatly increased the vote of that reserved class, who have heretofore neglected the control of their most valuable investment, by which all others are protected and guaranteed, while attentive to the election of corporate Directors."

"Civil Service Reform," is growing in favor with many, from the *liberal* construction of the law. Examinations for appointments are influenced as to their extent by the circumstances. Where *strong* testimonials are presented, they are held to make a searching series of questions as to capacity, unnecessary, but in their absence greater care is considered necessary.

The intention of the law is construed to be to enable the government to avail itself of the services of those whose armor has been hacked and broken in the defence of the interests of the party entrusted with the management of public affairs, and to dispense with the services of good men too engrossed in their duties to give sufficient attention to the interests of the power which protects them.

Their influence, as examples of good citizenship is considered more useful, when scattered unhampered by office amongst the body of the people."

"It is rumored that an effort will be made at the next session of the Utopian Congress, to rescind its novel rule requiring the insertion of pellets of cotton in the ears of a member addressing the chair, after ten minutes speaking, with a view to confining the length of his remarks to the suggestions of the mind, and not to allow them to be led on by the pleasant music of the voice, after the material suggestions have been made. Its intention was to economize valuable time, where all speeches may be elaborated and printed."

"The descendants of the Liberators of Utopia are rarely found in official position. They comfort themselves by feeling that like Alcibiades they may be 'esteemed too just.'

Great attention is given by the farmers here to the breeding of blooded stock, and fabulous prices are paid for animals of approved pedigree."

"This letter from a candidate for the Utopian Congress to the committee who had the power to nominate him; and to their credit did so, has been much discussed, its candor questioned, and its contents pronounced as "toffy," but it has been doubted, largely by those who had spoiled their digestion by its excessive use. Others consider that it is a good old fashioned doctrine."

"Still, that there may be no possibility of mistake, and in simple fairness to the gentlemen who have the matter in control, I take this public way of saying with as much emphasis as may be, that from careful observation and a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the inner workings of both the great political parties, I am convinced that the one greatest curse of our political system is the corrupt use of money and patronage in elections. Were I nominated, I should not directly or indirectly, pay or cause to be paid one dollar to secure an election. Further than this, I may say that, believing the work of office seeking, place brokerage, and position peddling to be no part of the duty of a member of Congress, I should, if elected, refuse positively to take any part in the general scramble for places in the departments, an occupation which can only be engaged in by neglecting legitimate and necessary work in the house at the sacrifice of self-respect, and to the serious detriment and disgrace of the public service. In short, I could only accept the nomination with the distinct understanding that, in addition to earnestly and sincerely subscribing to all the time-honored principles of my party, I should enter the canvass upon the clean new platform of honest, progressive, and independent Republicans. If there be any gentleman who would vote for my nomination on other terms, I beg him to refrain from doing so. His action could only result in disappointment." He was defeated.

It may occur to some weary reader, why some of these notes, apparently disconnected from the subject, are worked in to his annoyance. Simply because it appears that the use made by any nationality, of discussion of the action of either or all of its former rulers, is the strongest censure that can be inflicted by their posterity on those who opposed its creation, and questioned its future integrity, where so many were to be trusted with its control.

Mr. Henry George, who has lately bearded the British Lion in his den, and contended with the Dragon which prevented the universal prosperity and happiness of the human race, as fearlessly as did his namesake, the patron saint of the now oppressors, has on his return hastily plucked a handful of feathers, principally exotic, from the terminal portion of the Utopian "Bird of Freedom." He alludes truthfully, to the extravagance and uncleanness of "Outre Mer," its great maritime and again largely

colonial city, and yet displays an apparent want of appreciation of the causes requisite to the value of his undertaking. He says no one:

"Can go to Europe and study the system of government there without feeling a very great contempt for it — without feeling that he would like to go as a missionary among those people, to tell them to stand up, to teach them the virtues and the beauties and the philosophy of democracy. (Applause.) One thing, however, would deter him. A man would feel like that, if he knew nothing of the condition of this country. He would be met with the suggestion, however, that he look to his own country — to cities like this great metropolis of yours ruled and robbed by a class of miserable politicians."

After stating that if Utopia had been "true of Democratic principles" there would, not now, in his opinion "be a crowned head in Europe," he honestly points out as causes of the delay.

"But what shall we say when over here, where every man is equal before the law, where every citizen has a right to vote, where all power is in the hands of the people, the masses of the workers are but little, if any, better off than on the other side? What is the use of democratic institutions to men who cannot get a living without cringing and buying and selling their manhood. (Applause.) Can we prate and boast of our institutions when we read of people dying of starvation? when we have alms-houses in every city?"

He proposes to exempt improved property from future taxation, but to remove the field for the harvest of the enormous amount of its expenses to the unoccupied portions of the island, and annexed adjacent territory. Speaking of a friend who desired to invest in improvements, he says:

"If he went to the upper portion of this island, as he probably would go, he would find there plenty of vacant land that is now of no use to anybody save as the receptacle of rubbish and a browsing place for goats of that species popularly supposed to live on old boots and glass bottles. Very naturally he would say, no one is using this land. It is, in fact, in its present condition an eyesore and a nuisance. Let me come on it and I will erect a fine house, which will be an ornament to the neighborhood and an inducement to other people to erect good houses in the vicinity. Or I will build a factory in which I will employ a great number of hands, and turn out every year a large amount of goods that everybody desires. Should we not say to him: — 'Go ahead and welcome! Fine houses are better than rubbish-filled lots, and we would rather have factories than goat pastures?' But we say nothing of the kind."

"On the contrary, Mr. Saunders would be confronted by some one by legal right of a title derived from some of the old Dutchmen who first settled this island and who have been dead and gone long years ago, who would say to him, 'Before you can build your houses or erect your factory you must pay me such and such a sum.' Finding that he could not in any other way get a place upon which to make the improvement he contemplated, Mr. Saunders would probably consent to pay a price which, in its nature, would be nothing more nor less than a species of blackmail levied upon a man who wished to improve natural opportunities for the benefit of some dog-in-the-manger who could not and would not use them for himself. His capital being thus further diminished he would proceed to build his house and erect his factory. What then? As soon as he got them up, along would come a tax gatherer and would say to him, you have built a house, you have erected a factory, and for doing these things the laws of this country fine you to such and such an amount, and unless you pay the fine and keep on paying the fine, we will take from you the property which is the result of your exertions.' And not satisfied with that,

if Mr. Saunders' skill and prudence and energy enabled him, after all this, to make money, and his providence enabled him to lay it up, the taxgatherer would hunt him up in all sorts of ways and demand new fines and fresh penalties.

"Now, what I contend is, that it is stupid in us to thus hamper and vex *and fine* the men who enrich our city and our country, and that when we want money for common uses it would be much wiser for us to go for them to a man who is merely holding land in order to compel those who would improve it to pay him a high price.

"Whether I am a fool or a philosopher, a philanthropist or an incendiary, there is one thing I am firmly convinced of — that houses and factories and steamships and railroads, and dry goods and groceries are good things for any community to have and that that is the richest community that has most of them.

"Now, the more you tax those things the less of them you will have; but tax the value of land as much as you please and you will have none the less land, and it will be none the less useful. Tax land up to its full value and what would happen. Why simply that those who are holding land of which they make no use, would be compelled to give it up, and that those who wanted to make use of it could go and take it and improve it and use it without paying to the non-user anything for the privilege.

"Consider, gentlemen, how this city would grow, how enormously wealth would increase, if all taxes were abolished which now bear on the production and accumulation and exchange of wealth. Consider how quickly the vacant spaces on this island would fill up could land not improved, be had by them who wanted to improve it, without the payment of the prices now demanded. Then extend your view to the whole country and see how the same policy would everywhere enormously increase wealth."

In this frank exposition of his theories of home reform, their suggestor overlooks some points important to their value. His "old Dutchman" for example, is typical for the descendant of the first white settler from Holland on the island of "Outre Mer" and as such has at least the same rights as though he had been descended from the early natives of any Isle however fair and green, has long since ceased to own any considerable part of it. The territory is already largely covered besides his "old boots and glass bottles" with the shanties of what is known as a squatter colonization who usually pay no rent and often reluctantly yield to dispossession before the progress of a more permanent improvement.

On the other hand the poor old Dutchman has submitted for years to the exactions of repeated assessments, valuable to the contractor and the politician, as a means of subsistence to a constituency, in which the owner as a unit is disregarded where the greatest good is sought for the greatest number. Moreover he overlooks what the records will show, that a large portion of this property has already been sold for taxes, and assessments too onerous to be paid on wholly unproductive property, and that his additional taxes would be only a further lien on what is already forfeited or mainly for sale at far less than its accumulated cost. That to raise the enormous expenses of the city, unprecedented in the world for its area, would be like the nourishment of the Pelican which is said to feed on its own blood, or glean a field after it had been both harvested and pastured upon. The tax bills alone would soon cover its area as with a blanket.

His friend should realize before any location, what those longer familiar with the subject have learned; to count in the cost the yearly reminder of this past civic extravagance, and its present increase in his estimate of its use, or else to put on green goggles, and affect to be nourished by that dish of shavings, however annually cooked and set before him. In many cases he can "for further information apply on the premises" for corroboration of these suggestions.

He also neglects to tell, where, when all of this territory is improved by the result of industry, the next field for the imposition of new taxes which with death alone are certain, is to be found. Would not knowledge of such material points in the political economy of his own country, give value to suggestions as to the internal difficulties of any other. In seeking for any undiscovered field for additional taxation, on the island of "Ostre Mer," he might aid the assessors, and also answer Mr. Pitt's pungent query, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where?"

APPENDIX E.

REPUTATION AT THE CANNON'S MOUTH AND THE CHANCES IN ITS TRANSMISSION (note, page 160).

Dr. Timothy Dwight, as the nephew of General Lyman, who with his father was an early settler of the Territory of the Natchez, at least showed a natural sentiment in vindicating the claim of his uncle as a worthy subordinate, to the merit he considered his due. Errors have always been claimed to exist in the distribution of credit for service. Time long since accorded the glory of two important victories to Sir William Johnson—one at Lake George in the summer of 1755, when Baron Dieskau, a veteran of the Continental Wars was defeated, another the capture of Niagara, four years later. The whole life of that self-educated soldier, had in all its details been sustained by his gallantry, and he early carried his son to the field to teach him the art of war. Possibly he may have been remiss as Dr. Dwight has claimed, in distributing some of his laurels to his officers, or the New England troops disposed, in the existing jealousy, to claim too many of them. The moment of victory has proved best adapted to settle relative merit, while all present are familiar with facts from observation. That passed, it has often proved as difficult where the credit of victory naturally falls to the Commander—as to ascertain now who aided to win the laurels of Caesar, Hannibal or Philip, if without record in history.

In cases of disaster, the blame at once falls upon the leader, regardless of who stumbled, and no one competes for a share. His son and successor probably fought as bravely in his detested invasions, and yet wears in some history the willow decreed to failure. Many of the friends of General de Peyster, will be gratified in his probable success in vindicating the honor and courage of his relative.

Mrs. Grundy in her "Observations in Utopia" refers to a notable case of another military muddle in its history, she says:

"There was some difference of opinion here, some time since, as to the advantage of the correction of accepted historical error, too late for practical use. In its course, a case was cited as occurring in the former wars of Utopia. It was occasioned by the carelessness or paramount personal engagements of a civilian acting as Secretary to a former honored Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Dauntless, an approved soldier."

"That gallant officer, had intended to lead the attack in person, at the great battle of "Ouvrir la Porte," and to head his forces, as he had often done. He had prepared the plan of the engagement before it occurred, showing his special command in the advance. The burning of a bridge in front of his position, preventing his reaching that post in season, caused him to alter his plan on the day before the attack and to order General Fearless, his second in command to advance with his light division, giving him an opportunity substantially to flank the fortifications, necessarily passing under a heavy fire and to attack the enemy supporting them in great force, if he found it practicable, before he — with every possible exertion — could come to his relief with the needed support of heavier artillery, and equalize the struggle, and shell out the batteries. The division commander with a very inadequate force, and mainly with a small section of it, only succeeded by a desperate *coup de main* in passing the works, meeting at and above them, the entire force of the enemy and mainly fighting the battle with the single division in the advance, before his commander could possibly reach the enemy and gallantly complete the victory, Gen. Fearless reaching the important post above them in advance of all support, and when the Marshal came up, landed, and received its surrender."

"After that great triumph, the commander of the entire force, to whom the honor* of both its conception and achievement would naturally be given, sent his division commander — whom he loved, with the intelligence, to the seat of government, intending that he should receive his reward in thanks and promotion for the glory he had so materially aided in securing eventually for himself, as Napoleon alone concentrated in due season the glory of the Egyptian campaign, and Nelson that of the Nile."

"But alas! the Citizen Secretary had affixed to the report, which was not particular in detail, the old diagram of the proposed battle instead of that of the one *that was actually fought* which had been duly prepared, so falsifying his explanations. The division commander's statements were discredited by the papers he carried; history of this notable feat of arms was written and illustrations executed at once, based on the erroneous account, in most of which the real leader was not referred to or included, as all present knew to be due. All this mortification fell upon the gallant division commander, in place of the merit his remarkable achievement claimed, and although the Commander-in-Chief made ample correction of the records, and of the blunder of his subordinate, some years after when convinced of his error, the wound the mistake had given to a sensitive and modest nature, went with him to the grave. The Secretary yet survives, but some of the people here think he was a little more careless as to the record of another than he could have been of his own, and wonder that when he read the accounts, every where printed, of his conjectured position in the line on that old battle day, he too did not do something for *history*, by correcting *his* contribution to *its* many errors." To avoid such delay, and to correct an error yet palpable; it is proper to say after closer research, that Sir William offered the succession to the Superintendency of Indian Affairs, to his son in his lifetime, and that he asked to be relieved from its duties (page 187).

It is claimed that Lieut. Governor Colden—whose valuable "History of the Five Nations" had been published in 1727, and shows his knowledge of this trust—urged its acceptance on Sir John. His power to confer it, was through the absence of Governor Tryon, as Col. Guy's letter predicted. Another clerical error, occurs on page 207, stating that Col. Bouquet was born *at* and not *in* Switzerland, and one on page 210, places Colonel Lee, where Colonel William Washington actually was, waiting for equipments soon effectually used at Cowpens.

As to the Indian schools (page 202), new light has shown that this wise humanity is due more to personal benevolence than to the liberality of the Government.

It has been sometimes asked, why such historical papers as the handful used in the preceding pamphlet, *are not in the public archives*. The answer might be made that few things are in their proper place and yet many are useful.

The fact came to the writer from Mr. Francis A. Stout, a Commissioner of the State Survey, that by the defect of earlier Cartography, many places are found located *even miles* away from their actual geometrical position. And yet generations have lived and died in them, and there is probably no diminution of the area or acreage, which some would realize more than this defective location.

When visiting our State Capital some years since—in connection with his project of International Exchange—M. Alexandre Vattemare, found men in one of its chambers packing in boxes the recently printed "Documentary History," knee deep in old manuscripts, which *were* history, but used as fillers.

On his thoughtful suggestion to the Legislature, that these were not being *correctly located*, action was taken for the conservation of what remained; and the learned Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan—to whom we owe so much of our State History and from whom the writer had this fact, was created Curator, and laboriously catalogued those relics. Even afterwards—certainly without his knowledge, some were abstracted and Mr. John Bigelow, when Secretary of State, properly sought to reclaim them; even by circulars addressed to private collectors.

Curious papers often pass through many hands, as a merchantable article, and their migrations are also as indefinite as those of a circulating bill. Three of the grand collections of Historical manuscripts, once belonging to Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, Mr. Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, and Mr. Tefft of Savannah, have been broken up, the former, after it had been offered to the Government and State unsuccessfully, fell into the already large collection, of a private gentleman in Philadelphia, where it is likely to be preserved.

During the Civil War; as one of its evils, the high price of old paper, while the cruisers ruled commerce and shut out other material, brought out from many garrets and similar receptacles, a store of historical material of forgotten, or unknown value, to feed the paper mills, and weave material for the transmission of later facts. It is believed that more unprinted history, was then ground up, than even now exist in public or private collections.

It is stated that at that time, many old papers were discovered and exhumed from the outbuildings of Johnson Hall, possibly some containing the key to *this* research. Such papers are rarely sought for public collections when exposed at public or private sale, but fall, on conditions showing at least consideration for the value of the lives of others—into the private collections of a few antiquarians, sometimes to be reduced to print for private circulation.

Many find their way from Europe, especially from England. Lately the military papers of Lord Rawdon and Sir Henry Clinton, including beautifully executed military maps made by the Royal Engineers in America have been broken up and distributed here.

As an illustration of devotion to such collection and its accomplishments, it is only just to say, that there does not probably exist a more comprehensive memorial of the men of mark who have been connected with American History since the settlements, than that formed by Dr. Emmett—elsewhere referred to. That hidden in his library and known only to few, in notably fine condition, by restoration and exhaustive illustration with portraits and views, is probably the most valuable and intelligible monument to them, erected by a single hand, from many sources, in hours devoted to recreation in an active and useful life. There are a number of others, very complete and interesting, even superior to it in some details, but as an entirety it may claim to be unequalled in condition, and it is the result of years of research.

An incident which has occurred before this Appendix is printed, is referred to as practically sustaining some of the views which have been suggested. How supply and demand govern value, how it is increased when a thing is put in the right place, and how recognition of the past shows solid progress in the present.

The venerable Robert C. Winthrop, has done a good work, in restoring the portrait of one by whom his life has been doubtless influenced; additionally so as the friendly act of a representative of early patriotism in Massachusetts, in sympathizing with those of South Carolina. The old City Hall, of Charleston, South Carolina, had been completely restored and beautified, the interior entirely rebuilt with twelve spacious rooms, all with a remarkable economy (\$20,000), creditable to the city officials, and suggestive to those of other cities.

In its park, a life sized statue of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, erected by the citizens in their gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and thrown down after Clinton's capture, has been remounted on a new pedestal, with the old inscription tablet sought out and replaced. Even the signs of mutilation are suggestive to patriotism and of a possible similar restoration of its headless *replique*, in the keeping of the New York Historical Society.

The Common Council and citizens of Charleston, showing their appreciation of the renewal of their civic home, assembled on the 15th of November, for its rededication. The Mayor — Mr. Courtenay, whose heart had been in this work, made a suggestive opening address, effectively recalling the early history of the city, its position, and his hopes in its course, referring to the services of his first predecessor — after the Intendancy — the distinguished Robert Y. Hayne; who had accepted the position, after serving as Governor and United States Senator. He showed how Hayne had labored for facilities of communication with the interior, and for the progress of the city, incidentally comparing these details of his life to those of De Witt Clinton. He then recalled a resolution passed by the citizens on his decease in 1839, to place his marble bust in the City Hall, and suggested its re-enactment, which, after other spirited addresses, was unanimously adopted. As the News and Courier reports:

"Mayor Courtenay then said: During the visit of Governor Winthrop to this city in 1880, he visited the Council Chamber to see the portraits and other works of art owned by the city. He called the attention to the neglected condition of "Trumbull's Washington," a full length portrait of great value and historic interest, and urged that it be placed in proper hands for restoration, proffering his services in advising and superintending the work. By unanimous vote of the City Council the picture was forwarded to Governor Winthrop, and has been wonderfully renewed, and now presents as fine an appearance as when originally painted. It was completed last spring, and was received in the Boston Museum of Art and kept on exhibition during the summer and fall months, and is again restored to its familiar place on the walls of our chamber. Alderman Rogers thereupon offered the following resolution: WHEREAS, Our distinguished fellow countryman, Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, while on a visit to this city in 1880, and enjoying its relics of our olden time, became greatly interested in the preservation of our Trumbull's Washington, and wisely suggested its repair and restoration, and to further this end offered his most valuable services of supervision and care of this work; and whereas, through his kind offices the work of restoration has now been finally completed, and this valued picture of our city, now in its old power and life, again adorns our walls. Be it, therefore, *Resolved*, That the City Council of Charleston gratefully acknowledge and appreciate the valuable aid and kind personal service of Governor Winthrop in the successful accomplishment of the work of restoration of our great painting of Trumbull's Washington. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Mayor announced to Council that Mr. T. Bailey Myers, of New York city, had presented to the city three rare and valuable engravings of great local interest to our citizens: 1. Sir Henry Clinton's map of the siege of Charleston, 1780, showing the city and the harbor, surrounding country, the fortifications, and position of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot. 2. An engraved portrait of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Secretary of State from the year 1757 to 1768, by James Barry, R. A., September, 1778. 3. "An exact prospect of Charleston, the metropolis of the Province of South Carolina," an original engraving published in the *London Magazine*, June, 1762." In this connection, Alderman White — after a preamble again describing this small contribution, which is here omitted — "presented the following resolutions: Be it *Resolved*, That the thanks of the City Council are due and hereby tendered to Mr. T. Bailey Myers for these valued gifts, and we assure him that his liberality is highly appreciated by the citizens of Charleston. *Resolved*, That these engravings be hung on the walls of the mayor's office and carefully preserved as objects of general interest to our community. These resolutions were also unanimously adopted." Such recollection of past traditions, in an ancient city, which gallantly resisted royalist, loyalist and tory, in the period to which these things refer, is a pleasant evidence of adhesion to early sympathies, and to the united action of the infant states.

Since the foregoing paper has been printed, even its delay for some illustration, has evidenced how the rapid progress of the world affects the smallest atom. Its suggestion of the claim of "History as a Fine Art," has been by a gratifying coincidence, in that interval sustained — with his usual ability — by the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, in a paper presented before the Seventy-eighth Anniversary Meeting of the New York Historical Society, while the changes in the method of correspondence, has also lately recalled editorial notice in the columns of the "Times."

Concurrence of thought, we know naturally exists as to many subjects of varied importance in a nation of fifty millions, including great intelligence. Differences of conclusion are often more conspicuous. The comparison of opinions in public in any form, may demonstrate the value of convictions to some, call forth the sympathy of others, who have entertained without expressing them, or at least open them to correction. Thought has always been considered a safe predecessor to action.

At least, in public affairs it would appear that advanced methods of legislation claim careful deliberate consideration by their presentors as well as by the representative, and that hasty action is only justified where circumstances demand the experiment. This admitted, Dr. Crosby, who as a private citizen takes an active interest in current public administration, might be induced hereafter to show, how the entire record of American statesmanship — conformed to the example of many of its former and present elements, was affording a noble example of self devotion in constructing history, and that the creation as well as the condensation, had just claim to be considered as a fine Art.

Many wise and pertinent suggestions, contained in the President's recent message, appear to offer material for the action of statesmanship, rising above party or local considerations, and according with a widely expressed sentiment in favor of such more considerate and prudent legislation as would seem to best assure the prosperity and permanency of our institutions.



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